Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom Mahatma Gandhi himself called 'Mahatma' and whom he regarded as his 'political *guru*', was unquestionably one of the makers of modern India. His career was a remarkable one—a graduate at eighteen, professor at twenty, secretary of the Provincial Conference at twenty-one, editor of an influential journal—the *Quarterly* of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha—at twenty-four, secretary of the Reception Committee of the National Congress at twenty-nine, an important witness before a Royal Commission (the Welby Commission) at thirty-one, Provincial Legislator at thirty-four, Imperial Legislator at thirty-six, president of the National Congress and founder of the Servants of India Society at thirty-nine. For about twenty-five years Gokhale occupied an outstanding position among Indian political leaders.

This volume is composed very largely of his speeches on educational topics made in the Imperial Legislative Council and outside on public platforms. They reflect his persistent efforts to amend the Universities Bill which, as moved, would have brought the Universities under the control of officials rather than educationists. They also highlight his tireless work in the cause of mass education. To this end he first moved a resolution suggesting the appointment of a mixed commission to frame a scheme of mass education. Next year he introduced his historic elementary education bill, which was followed by a motion in the succeeding year for the appointment of a Select Committee to go into the Bill. The Bill aroused great public interest and enthusiasm with the result that Elementary Education Leagues were established throughout the country to organize public support for the Bill. His speeches on all these occasions make very interesting and also instructive reading.

known English friends of India like Hume and Wedderburn appear in the last part.

This volume, like the earlier two volumes, will prove of inestimable value to research workers, students of public questions, and, above all, to the large number of Indian citizens who now have the opportunity to serve their country by successfully working the system of democratic rule, for the realization of which Gokhale laboured all his eventful life.

Speeches and Writings of

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

VOLUME THREE : EDUCATIONAL

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Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915)

Speeches and Writings of
GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE

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VOLUME THREE : EDUCATIONAL

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PREFACE

Three editions of Gokhale's Speeches and Writings were published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. of Madras : the first in 1908, the second in 1916, and the third and last in 1920. As there had been no further reprint of the work, and as the third edition was out of print, the Deccan Sabha of Poona, which is a sister institution of the Servants of India Society and of which Gokhale was one of the founders and the first secretary, thought that it would be doing a service to the public if it brought out a revised and fuller edition of Gokhale's Speeches and Writings, specially as it was understood on inquiry that Messrs. G. A. Natesan and Co. themselves had no intention of republishing the Speeches and Writings.

In due course the Deccan Sabha decided to undertake the project of publishing the Speeches and Writings. To this end it later appointed a committee to prepare a well thought out scheme of publication. The scheme prepared by the Committee envisaged the publication of the Speeches and Writings in three volumes : The first to contain Gokhale's economic speeches, the second his speeches on political subjects, and the third mainly educational speeches. The first containing his well-known Budget speeches and his evidence, both written and oral, before the Welby Commission, was brought out by the Sabha in 1962 in collaboration with Asia Publishing House, Bombay. But for several reasons, the Sabha found itself unable to carry the scheme to its conclusion.

The unfinished task was then taken over by the Servants of India Society itself, which, as is a matter of common knowledge, owes its birth to Gokhale. The responsibility for editing and bringing out the later volumes was entrusted by the Society to a committee consisting of Prof. D. G. Karve, Shri. S. G. Gokhale, secretary of the Society and Shri D. V. Ambekar (convener).

The Second volume, which included Gokhale's political utterances, was sponsored by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay, who brought it out in 1966 as their own publication. The publication of the Second volume coincided with the celebration of the centenary of Gokhale's birthday last year. It was, therefore, very appropriate that no less a person than the President of India, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, who presided over the inaugural function of the celebrations organized at the Society's headquarters in Poona, on May 9, 1966, declared the publication of the volume.

Now this is the third and last volume being now published.

Careful preparation of a complete list of all speeches made by Gokhale in the Legislature and copying and comparing of the material with the official report were first undertaken. And the text as printed in this volume may safely be accepted as a faithful copy of the original official report. The first part of this volume containing the speeches made by Gokhale in the Central legislature is fully exhaustive and reproduces all that he said in the Council on the educational subjects that engaged its attention.

As regards the other speeches which appear in this volume, it may be mentioned that the Committee has selected for inclusion only speeches, of which

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the available reports could be considered reliable, though not in all cases authoritative. It had to reject a good deal of material which did not seem to answer to this test. It may be hoped, however, that the reader will find in this volume a widely representative selection of the many speeches which Gokhale made outside the legislature, in India and in England.

As in the case of the two earlier volumes, special efforts have been made to bring to light some valuable material, which, though important from many points of view, had remained unpublished so far. Mention of a few instances of this kind may not be out of place. Quite a few of the speeches Gokhale made in the course of the discussions on the Universities Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council which had found no place in any earlier publication are included in this volume. The same applies to the speeches on the resolution calling for papers on the extension of primary education (pp. 145-156). The reader will also find here for the first time the speeches delivered by Gokhale at the inauguration of the Elementary Education Leagues at Madras (pp. 205-219) and Calcutta (pp. 233 -245) whose aim was to create public opinion in favour of his Bill, as also his speech at the Calcutta Congress (pp. 246-252) which lent its weighty support to it. Similar Leagues had sprung up at the time in many other parts of India, which is a measure of the public interest and enthusiasm created by the Bill. The speech at the prize distribution ceremony of the Alexandra Institution in Bombay (pp. 253-256) is particularly valuable as providing an indication as to how Gokhale's mind reacted to the problem of women's education. We offer our thanks to the authorities of the Institution for supplying the text of the speech from their record.

Each speech is preceded by a brief introductory note so as to make the context clear. Foot-notes too have been provided, where necessary, to explain personal and other allusions. Subheadings have been introduced at appropriate places, which, it is hoped, will facilitate better appreciation of the speeches.

It is a sincere pleasure to acknowledge the help we have received from the staff of the Servants of India Society's Library and especially the Librarian. Mr. M. V. Sovani, by way of supply of necessary reference books. Our special thanks are due to Mr. V. D. Divekar, the Assistant Librarian, who, at great personal inconvenience, has prepared the index to this, as in the case of the earlier two volumes, purely as a labour of love.

All possible care has been taken to minimise mistakes, either in printing or otherwise. Nevertheless it is difficult to be sure that the result is mistake-proof. If any lapses that may be noticed are pointed out to the Society, every effort will be made to put them right in the later edition, if an occasion arises for bringing it out. Any suggestions from the reader designed to add to the utility of the work will be heartily welcome.

Poona
5th June, 1967

D. G. KARVE
D. V. AMBEKAR

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INTRODUCTION

Gokhale : Educator and Reformer

The two most powerful influences on Gokhale's thought and behaviour were those of Ranade, whom he avowed to be his master, and of Gandhi, to whose moral and spiritual eminence he has paid several unstinting tributes. The first significant act of Gokhale's life, that of joining the band of dedicated young men who established the New English School in Poona, was, however, done before he met either one of these two heroes of his choice. In fact, an interesting story is told as to how on October 24, 1884 when a meeting of select invitees was being held to incorporate the Deccan Education Society, to take over and carry forward the work of the New English School, Gokhale asked Ranade to be identified before he could be admitted to the Hall. This incident was only the beginning of a relationship which both cherished throughout their life. Gokhale first saw Gandhi only in 1896, by which time he had already made his mark in public life.

The Life-Members of the Deccan Education Society were motivated by a purpose which was essentially human and patriotic. While moving the resolution of incorporation of the Society, Mr. Apte, the secretary, declared :

> We have undertaken the work with the firmest conviction and belief that of all agents of human civilization, education is the only one that brings about the material, moral and religious regeneration of fallen countries and raises them upto the level of the most advanced nations by slow and peaceful revolutions. And again in order that education may produce the highest beneficial results which all writers of whatever country or belief agree in ascribing to it, it is absolutely necessary that it should be in the hands of the people themselves. Its scope ought to be free, and in no way must it work against the grain. (p. 71, *History of the Deccan Education Society*).

The paramount significance of education as an instrument of human civilization and national regeneration was the principle by which all actions of the Society were guided. A peaceful revolution in the country was what the members of the Society desired to achieve, and for that end to be attained they believed that the control of education must be in national hands. The speeches on Primary as well as University education published in this volume must be read against this background of Gokhale's beliefs and career. The sooner all the population in India became literate, the progress of all aspects of reform — social, political, industrial — would be facilitated and hastened. It was this faith in the civilizing effects of education which induced Gokhale to moderate his demands as to the content, duration and quality of education, so long as the principles of universality and compulsion were accepted. He knew that once

a beginning is made further progress would be attained almost by the momentum of the resultant enlightenment of the people. Though in the end the immediate effect of the legislative efforts of Gokhale in the field of primary education was no more satisfactory than that of most of his other contributions, yet his advocacy of compulsory primary education served as one of the tests by which the quality of British rule in India came to be judged. When, after the attainment of independence, the constitution of the country came to be written, free and compulsory primary education was inscribed as one of the important directive principles of State policy. If we are now well on the way to be a nation without illiterate youngsters the credit in no small measure should be that of Gokhale.

The long and intimate contact which Gokhale had with the functioning and problems of University education lends special significance to his speeches on the subject of University reform. Like several other things in our public life, the fact that the elite in almost all fields was of foreigners, and especially of foreigners who were only temporary residents of our country, distorted the perspective in which things were seen and judged. This would, of course, not apply to the principle that the composition of University bodies should be free from external influence, governmental or other. To proposals of so altering the constitution of University bodies as to make them largely dominated by official nominees, Gokhale naturally objected on grounds which would be shared by educationists everywhere. That in India an official usually meant a foreign official made the objection doubly valid.

When it came to the setting up of the internal bodies of a university some peculiar undercurrents of contemporary politics were inescapable. Thus it was a mute question how far the teachers should dominate either the academic or executive organs of university life. That they should have the stronger voice in academic bodies, and that they should be adequately represented in the executive bodies appear to be reasonable propositions in themselves. But here again when the teachers who are likely to find a place in either of these bodies are foreigners with no assured standards of qualifications, and with no stake in the country, it becomes at least equally reasonable to argue that representatives of the educated public, that is, of university graduates should find a substantial representation in both bodies. Gokhale's remarks on the two bills which were before the Viceroy's Legislative Council to amend the Universities Act in the direction of greater officialization must be read both in the general and the particular contexts — that which is true of University education everywhere, and that which was specially relevant to Indian conditions of his day. A similar perspective of time and circumstance has also to be maintained in following Gokhale's remarks on the importance of British history as a subject of compulsory study in Colleges.

Education, at least chronologically, was Gokhale's first love. It also happened to be, in his opinion, the most potent instrument of national regeneration. We, therefore, find him taking keen interest in educational matters

coming before legislative bodies of which he was a member. He recognized the importance of all aspects of progress, social and industrial, no less than political and economic. He, however, sought to confine his own efforts to the task of ensuring as large and as early a transfer of power to Indian hands as possible. As Gandhi records in his *Autobiography :*

> India's poverty and subjection were matters of constant and exclusive concern to him. Various people sought to interest him in different things. But he gave every one of them the same reply. You do the thing yourself. Let me do my own work. What I want is freedom for my country. After that is won, we can think of other things. Today that one thing is enough to engage all my time and energy. (p. 539, *Gandhi's Autobiography*, Navajivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad, 1933).

As a consequence of the calculated concentration of his energies on the problems of political and economic reform, Gokhale was content to leave other fields of reformation to those who had more interest in, or aptitude for those fields of activity. He was not, however, indifferent to those patriotic and progressive efforts. Whenever it was possible to do so he lent his support to reform measures in those fields. Thus when the Civil Marriage Bill was under consideration in the Central Legislature he supported its voluntary extension to all sections of the community. He felt that with growing education, especially among women, and with the rise and spread of Protestant cults, like the Brahmo Samaj, the number of persons who would prefer a civil to a ritualistic marriage would be expected to increase. Even here, though the idea was good, its day had to come. What a foreign Government did not feel sufficiently interested or sufficiently strong to do, a legislature with a much larger representation of the people has accomplished in more recent years.

The present volume contains one speech apiece on women's education and progress among the depressed sections of the community. At the Educational Congress held in London in 1897 Gokhale read a paper on Female Education. Referring to the past, he stated that in the days of India's healthy and progressive living women used to have free access to such education as was suitable to their station and to the nature of their responsibilities. In the course of long years of domination of large parts of the country by foreign invaders women were pushed back into a life of secluded domesticity. The advent of the British in India had brought the two currents of civilization, eastern and western, in mutual contact. The development of a virile and progressive civilization by absorption of the best elements in the two separate currents is a task of far-reaching significance to human progress. It is as stupendous as it is significant and education of women along with that of men is necessary so as to ensure maximum success in this effort.

Along with Ranade, Gokhale felt very keenly and poignantly the responsibility of the rest of the Hindu community for a complete recognition of the

individual dignity and social equality of the members of the " Depressed Classes ". When he attended a session of the social conference in Dharwar in 1903, he spoke on a very mild resolution which simply exhorted everybody to try his utmost to improve the conditions of the depressed classes. But in the course of his speech Gokhale made his position clear. Both on grounds of humanity, and of national interest, unless all individuals, including those who belong to the traditionally depressed classes, are brought on a level of social equality, and unless they are given an opportunity to develop to their fullest capacity, neither freedom nor progress was possible. This was true, internally as well as internationally. Gokhale narrated what for him was a memorable speech of Ranade bearing on the vital importance of our attitude towards the depressed classes in our own country.

Gandhi had been on one of his short visits to India from South Africa in 1894. With the support of Pherozeshah Mehta a public meeting was arranged in Bombay at which several prominent speakers made vigorous denunciations of the discriminatory racial policy of the Natal and Transvaal Governments. When it came to Ranade's turn he also expressed his disapproval of the South African authorities in no uncertain terms. But he was fair and bold enough to " turn the searchlight inwards." In India for centuries the lot of the outcaste and the depressed sections of Hindu society had continued to remain sub-human and degraded without raising any strong social movement against it. From a people who allowed such inhuman treatment of a section of their own countrymen to go on without serious attempts at remedying the evil, protests against the white people in Africa treating coloured immigrants as socially inferior could at best be received only with formal courtesy. Gandhi felt the moral challenge of the situation so keenly that he placed removal of un-touchability in the very forefront of his political programme, when in later years he assumed leadership in India's struggle for freedom.

While not disagreeing with the essential justification of Ranade's position, Gokhale was content largely to pursue another side of the same argument. He realized that people who are not treated as equals of white rulers in their own country could not expect to be treated as equals in the white settlers' colonies. He concentrated his major efforts on securing freedom and equality within India so that Indians may be treated with respect everywhere.

Dedication, patriotism and self-sacrifice were virtues of which Gokhale had given unmistakable evidence even before he came into contact with any of the outstanding personalities who were to loom large on the national horizon in his later days. But a passion for systematic and sustained study, an attitude of faithful acquiescence in the results of all dutiful actions, a concern for the emancipation of the individual, and acceptance of gradualism as a beneficial principle of healthy development were traits of Gokhale's more mature phi-losophy; and these he developed principally as the result of his contact with Ranade. The three speeches about Ranade, which are published in this volume

give a vivid account of the manner in which his teachings and personality had affected Gokhale. While Gokhale places saintliness above all other virtues of Ranade he confesses to have been struck more by Ranade's patriotism. "The first thing that struck anyone who came in contact with Mr. Ranade, as underlying all his marvellous personality, was his pure, fervent, profound patriotism." Some other near friends of Ranade were struck more by his saintliness than by his patriotism. Friends and followers of Gandhi have also been similarly divided as to the dominating influence in his life. Usually, it is the valuations of the observer which are reflected in such contacts and comparisons Gokhale, himself a fervent and devoted patriot above everything else, reacted more completely and more spontaneously to the warmth and light of patriotism than to the calm and sublimity of mere saintliness.

Speaking about other personalities, Gokhale evinces a similar standard of more or less subjective appraisal. In Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale finds not only an inspiration for whole-hearted patriotic service, but also for a faith in the constructive benefits of India's contact with western civilization through British rule. As he says in his speech, to Dadabhai "belongs the credit of understanding aright the true meaning of the new order of things and the possibilities that it implied for their countrymen." Even in appreciative references to the work of non-Indian personalities Gokhale picks out traits which he himself rates high. Speaking about Mr. A. O. Hume, he not only refers to his great contribution to the establishment and earlier nurturing of the Indian National Congress but he specifies three respects in which Hume's contribution made the greatest impression on him. It was through the Congress that the feeling of a common nationhood among the residents of all parts of India was brought into being. Not only common subjection to the same government, but common hope and determination to transform the government made for a sense of unity of purpose. The formulation of the policies of the Congress in the direction of greater equality, freedom and progress helped to make it, in Gokhale's estimation, India's Party of Liberalism like the British Liberal Party. Whether Mr. Hume would put it exactly in these terms or no, Gokhale derived this principle from the functioning of the Congress during the days of Mr. Hume's close association with it.

In a very real manner Gokhale continued to utilize his contacts with men of goodwill and of distinction to reform and strengthen his own personality. In turn, he put into his own work the essence of his developed thought so that his countrymen, and also the rulers, should be educated into the best ways of securing progress along paths of equality and freedom. It was the patriotic reformer in him which always kept Gokhale interested in receiving and imparting education. All his speeches here reproduced bear testimony to the twin personality of Gokhale — the educator and the reformer.

— D. G. K.

IMPORTANT EVENTS IN GOKHALE'S LIFE

1866, May 9	Birth at Kotluk (Ratnagiri District)
1876	Migration to Kolhapur for education
1881	Passed his matriculation examination
1882	Studied in Rajaram College, Kolhapur
1883	Studied in Deccan College, Poona
1884	Graduated from Elphinstone College, Bombay, and joined the Law Class
1885	Joined New English School, Poona (started in 1880) as a teacher
1886	Became a Life-member of the Deccan Education Society, Poona (founded on October 24, 1884), and began teaching in Fergusson College.
	Introduced to Ranade
1888	Elected secretary, Bombay Provincial Conference
	Edited English columns of *The Sudharak*
1889	First participation in the National Congress
1890	Secretary of the Sarvajanik Sabha, Poona and Editor of its Quarterly
1892	Appointed Secretary of the Deccan Education Society
1895	Worked as Secretary to the Reception Committee of the National Congress which met at Poona
	Elected Fellow, Bombay University
1896	Resigned Secretaryship of the Sarvajanik Sabha, and helped in starting the Deccan Sabha, of which he became the first secretary
	First meeting with Gandhiji
1897	First visit to England for giving evidence before the Welby Commission
	Apology Incident
1898	Organized plague relief measures in Poona
1899	Elected member of the Bombay Legislative Council
1901	Elected member of the Imperial Legislative Council
1902	Went on furlough from Fergusson College
	Elected President, Poona Municipality
1903	Elected additional Joint General Secretary to the National Congress
1904	Made C.I.E.
	Formally retired from Fergusson College
1905	Founded the Servants of India Society (on June 12)
	Second visit to England as a Congress delegate to represent India's case in view of the impending British General Election
	Presided over the National Congress at Banaras.

1906 } 1908 }	Third and fourth visits to England to agitate for the prospective reforms
1907	Lecturing tour in North India
1908	Gave evidence before the Decentralization Commission
1910	Inauguration of the Ranade Industrial and Economic Institute
1912	Visit to South Africa
	Appointed member of the Public Services Commission
1912, 1913 } and 1914 }	Fifth, sixth and seventh visits to England in connection with the work of the Public Services Commission
1913	Organized financial assistance for the Indian struggle in South Africa
1914	Declined offer of K.C.I.E.
	Attempted a Congress compromise
1915, Feb. 19	Death at Poona

PART I

COUNCIL SPEECHES

OFFICIALIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held at Calcutta, on Friday, the 18th *December*, 1903, *Mr. T. Raleigh*[1] *moved that the Bill to amend the law relating to the Universities of British India be referred to a Select Committee, which included Gokhale as a member. Earlier, on Wednesday, the* 4*th November*, 1903, *he had introduce the Bill at its meeting held at Simla. In opposing the motion for the referenced of the Bill to a Select Committee, Gokhale made the following speech :*

Future of Western Education

My Lord, as this is the occasion on which the principle of the Bill may be usefully discussed, I cannot give a silent vote on the motion now before us, especially in view of the great attention which this subject has received during the last three years at the hands of both the Government and the public, and the angry controversy which has raged round it for most of the time. In the course of the Budget Debate of last year, your Lordship, while referring to the attitude of the educated classes of this country towards University Reform, was pleased to observe : ' Surely there are enough of us on both sides, who care for education for education's sake, who are thinking, not of party triumphs, but of the future of unborn generations, to combine together and carry the requisite changes through. ' My Lord, I do not know if my claim to be regarded as one of such persons will pass unchallenged. But this I venture to say for myself : I hope I have given, in my own humble way, some little proof in the past of my interest in the cause of higher education; and that, in the observations which I propose to offer today, the only consideration by which I am animated is an anxious regard for the future of Western education in this land, with the wide diffusion of which are bound up in large measure the best interests of both the Government and the people.

Government's Distrustful Attitude

My Lord, in your Budget speech of last year, your Lordship complained of the unnecessary distrust with which the educated classes regarded the attitude of the present Government towards higher education. I can assure your Lordship that, even among those who have not been able to take the same view of this question as your Lordship's Government, there are men who regret that the difficulties which already surround a complicated problem should be aggravated by any unnecessary or unjustifiable misapprehension about motives. But is it quite clear that the Government itself has been free from all responsibility in this matter, and that it has given no cause whatever for any misapprehension in regard to its object? Let the Council for a moment glance at the circumstances which

[1] Law Member, Government of India (1899-1904).

have preceded the introduction of this Bill. More than two years ago, your Lordship summoned at Simla a Conference of men engaged in the work of education in the different Provinces of India. Had the Conference been confined to the educational officers of Government, one would have thought that Government was taking counsel with its own officers only, and of course there would have been no misunderstanding in the matter. But the presence of Dr. Miller[1] at the Conference at once destroyed its official character, and gave room for the complaint that the deliberations were confined to European educationists in India only. The fact that the proceedings of the Conference were kept confidential deepened the feeling of uneasiness already created in the public mind by the exclusion of Indians from its deliberations. Later on, when the Universities Commission[2] was first appointed, its composition, as is well known, afforded much ground for complaint; and though, to meet public opinion half way, your Lordship took the unusual step of offering a seat on the Commission, almost at the last moment, to Mr. Justice Guru Das Banerjee,[3] the objection remained that, while missionary enterprise was represented on the Commission in the person of Dr. Mackichan,[4] indigenous enterprise in the field of education was again left unrepresented. The hurried manner in which the Commission went about the country and took evidence and submitted its report was not calculated to reassure the public mind.

Finally, the holding back of the evidence, recorded by the Commission, on the plea that its publication would involve unnecessary expense, was very unfortunate, as other Commissions had in the past published evidence ten times as voluminous and the question of economy had never been suggested. Now, my Lord, every one of these causes of complaint was avoidable and I cannot help thinking that a good deal of the misapprehension, which every right-minded person must deplore, would have been avoided, if Government had been from the beginning more careful in this matter. The task of reforming the University system in India was, in any case, bound to be formidable, and it was much to be wished that it had been possible to examine the proposals of Government on their own merits, in the clear light of reason, unobscured by passion or prejudice or misapprehension of any kind, on one side or the other.

[1] Vice-Chancellor, Madras University (1902-03).

[2] The Indian Universities Commission was appointed " to inquire into the condition and prospects of the Universities established in British India; to consider and report upon any proposals which have been, or may be, made for improving their constitution and working, and to recommend to the Governor-General in Council such measures as may tend to elevate the standard of University teaching, and to promote the advancement of learning " (1902). Mr. T. RALEIGH, M. A., D.C.L., Member, Executive Council of the Governor-General was president.

[3] Member, Bengal Legislative Council (1887); Judge, Calcutta High Court (1889); Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University (1890-93); member, Indian Universities Commission (1902).

[4] Principal, Wilson College, Bombay; Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (1888-90; and again 1902-04).

English Education — Blessing or Curse ?

A misapprehension of the motives of the Government cannot, however, by itself explain the undoubted hostility of the educated classes of this country to the present measure. And it seems to me to be clear that this sharp conflict of opinion arises from the different standpoints from which the question of higher education is regarded by the Government and the people. In introducing this Bill the other day at Simla, the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh asked at the outset the question ' whether English education has been a blessing or a curse to the people of India, ' and he proceeded to give the following reply:

> In point of fact it has been both, but much more, I believe, a blessing than a curse. We note every day the disturbing effects of a new culture imposed upon learners who are not always prepared to receive it; but still it is a great achievement to have opened the mind of the East to the discoveries of Western science and the spirit of English law. To the Schools and Colleges under our administration we owe some of the best of our fellow workers— able Judges, useful officials, and teachers who pass on to others the benefit which they have received. To them also we owe the discontented B. A., who has carried away from his college a scant modicum of learning and an entirely exaggerated estimate of his own capacities, and the great army of failed candidates, who beset all the avenues to subordinate employment.

Discontented B.A.s

Here then we have the principal objection to the present system of University education authoritatively stated, namely, that it produces the discontented B.A., and a great army of failed candidates. The Hon'ble Member describes these classes as a curse to the country, and he claims that his proposals are intended to abate this evil. Now, my Lord, I would, in the first place, like to know why ' the army of failed candidates, who beset the avenues to subordinate employment ' should be regarded as a curse by the Government any more than any other employer of labour regards as a curse an excess of the supply of labour over the demand. These men do no harm to anyone by the mere fact that they have failed to pass an examination or that they seek to enter the service of Government. Moreover, unless my Hon'ble friend is prepared to abolish examinations altogether, or to lay down that not less than a certain percentage of candidates shall necessarily be passed, I do not see how he expects to be able to reduce the evil of failed candidates. The Colleges on the Bombay side satisfy most of the conditions that the Hon'ble Member insists upon, and yet the problem of the failed candidates is as much with us there as it is here.

As regards the discontented B.A., assuming that he is really discontented, will the Hon'ble Member tell me how his proposed reconstitution of the Universities will make him any more contented? Does he not know that Indians, educated at Oxford or Cambridge, who bring away from those

Universities more than a 'scant modicum of learning' and by no means 'exaggerated estimate of their own capacities' are found on their return to India to be even more 'discontented' than the graduates of the Indian Universities? The truth is that this so-called discontent is no more than a natural feeling of dissatisfaction with things as they are, when you have on one side a large and steadily growing educated class of the children of the soil, and on the other a close and jealously-guarded monopoly of political power and high administrative office. This position was clearly perceived and frankly acknowledged by one of the greatest of Indian Viceroys — Lord Ripon[1] — who, in addressing the University of Bombay in 1884, expressed himself as follows :

> I am very strongly impressed with the conviction that the spread of education and especially of Western culture, carried on as it is under the auspices of this and the other Indian Universities, imposes new and special difficulties upon the Government of this country. It seems to me, I must confess, that it is little short of folly that we should throw open to increasing numbers the rich stores of Western learning; that we should inspire them with European ideas, and bring them into the closest contact with English thought; and that then we should, as it were, pay no heed to the growth of those aspirations which we have ourselves created, and the pride of those ambitions we have ourselves called forth. To my mind one of the most important, if it be also one of the most difficult, problems of the Indian Government in these days is how to afford such satisfaction to those aspirations and to those ambitions as may render the men who are animated by them the hearty advocates and the loyal supporters of the British Government.

My Lord, I think it is in the power of Government to convert these 'discontented B.A.s' from cold critics into active allies by steadily associating them more and more with the administration of the country, and by making its tone more friendly to them and its tendencies more liberal. This, I think, is the only remedy for the evil complained of, and I am sure there is none other.

Reform of Teaching and Examinations

My Lord, in the speech of the Hon'ble Member, to which I have already referred, he has argued as follows:

> The evils of the discontented B. A. and the great army of failed candidates cannot be combated without improving the methods of teaching and examination which produce these results. Such improvement cannot, however, be secured without reconstituting the Senates of the different Universities. Therefore it is that the Government has thought it necessary to come forward with the proposals embodied in the present Bill.

Now, my Lord, I do not think the discontented B. A. will grow rarer or that the ranks of the army of failed candidates will become thinner after this

[1] Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1880-84).

Bill becomes law. But even if this object of the Hon'ble Member be not likely to be achieved, I am willing to admit that it would be a great and worthy end to attempt an improvement for its own sake in the methods of teaching and examination, and if any one will make it clear to me that this end is likely to be attained by the adoption of the proposals embodied in this Bill, I shall be prepared to give my most cordial support to this measure. For, my Lord, I have long felt that our present methods of both teaching and examination are very imperfect and call for a reform. But, as far as I can see, there is little in this Bill which will in any way secure that object. It is true that the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson,[1] in his brief but eloquent speech at the first reading, spoke of the necessity of raising the character of the teaching at present imparted in Colleges and he announced that Government had decided ' to make for five years special grants in aid of Universities and Colleges whose claims to special assistance in carrying out the reforms which we have in view are established, subject to an annual limit of five lakhs of rupees. ' The announcement is a most welcome one, but it is difficult to see what reforms the Government has in view, and until further details about the Government scheme are forthcoming, no definite opinion can be pronounced on it. Moreover, we are just now considering the Bill, and so far as its provisions are concerned, there need not be the least change in the present state of things, so far as the Colleges in the Bombay Presidency are concerned.

Making Universities a Department of State

But my Lord, while it is difficult to allow the claim of the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh that this Bill will lead to an improvement in the methods of teaching and examination, there can be no room for doubt that the first and most obvious effect of the passing of this measure will be to increase enormously the control of Government over University matters, and to make the University virtually a Department of the State. This increase of control is sought to be secured both directly and indirectly: directly by means of the new provisions about the acceptance of endowments and the appointment of University Professors and Lecturers, the affiliation and disaffiliation of Colleges and the making of regulations, and indirectly by the proposed reconstruction of the Senate and the power of censorship in regard to its composition which Government will now be able to exercise every five years. My Lord, if Government cannot trust the Senate even to accept endowments without its own previous sanction, or to make appointments to endowed Professorships or Lecturerships, if Government is to have the power to affiliate or disaffiliate any institution against the unanimous opinion of both the Senate and the Syndicate, if it may make any additions it pleases to the regulations submitted by the Senate for its sanction and may even in some cases make the regulations

[1] Sir DENZIL IBBETSON, I.C.S., Superintendent of Census, Director of Public Instruction and Financial Commissioner in the Punjab; Chief Commissioner, C.P.

itself without consulting the Senate, I do not see that much dignity or independence is left to the Senate under such circumstances. And when, in addition to so much direct control, Government takes to itself the power of not only nominating practically nine-tenths of the Fellows but also of revising their lists every five years, I think no exception can be taken to the description that the Senate under the circumstances becomes a Department of the State.

My Lord, much was said during the last three years about the necessity of giving a preponderant voice to men actually engaged in the work of education in the deliberations of the University; very little, on the other hand, was heard about the necessity of increased Government control. In the proposals, however, with which Government has now come forward, while no statutory provision has been made for a due representation of Professors and teachers in the composition of the Senate, Government has virtually absorbed nearly all real power and made everything dependent upon its own discretion. The spirit in which the Government has chosen to deal with the Universities in this Bill appears to me to be more French than English. Was it really necessary to revolutionize their position so completely in the interests of education alone ? After all, Government itself is responsible for the composition of existing Senates, and what guarantee is there that the power of nomination, which has been admittedly exercised with considerable carelessness in the past, will be used any better in the future ?

"Limited" Senates

Moreover, there are men on the existing Senates who have all along taken great interest in the affairs of the Universities, but who have perhaps made themselves disagreeable to those who are regarded as the special representatives of Government in those bodies. And it is very probable that these men may not be included among those who will now form the reconstructed Senates. If this happens, will it be just ? My Lord, I am personally not opposed to the idea of a limited Senate, and were the question not complicated by fears of probable injustice in the first reconstruction, I should even be disposed to support the idea strongly. I also recognize that, if we are to have a limited Senate, it is necessary to provide for a certain number of seats falling vacant every year, so that there should be room for a continuous introduction of qualified new men; and if these vacancies cannot be expected to arise in the natural course of things — by retirement or death — it is necessary to make the Fellowships terminable. But one essential condition in a scheme of a limited Senate with terminable Fellowships is that a large proportion of seats should be thrown open to election, so that those who do not see eye to eye with the special representatives of Government may not be deterred from taking an independent line by the fear of displeasing Government. But to make the Fellowships terminable in five years and to keep practically nine-tenths of the nominations in the hands of Government will, in my humble opinion, seriously impair all real independence in the deliberations of the University.

Adequate Representation Necessary

My Lord, there are, in the special circumstances of this country, three different interests which really require to be adequately represented in the University Senate. There is first the Government, which is of course vitally concerned in the character of the education imparted; then there are the Professors and teachers who are actually engaged in the work of instruction; and last, but not least, there are the people of this country, whose children have to receive education and whose whole future is bound up with the nature of the educational policy pursued. These three interests are not — at any rate, are not always thought to be — identical, and I think it is necessary to secure an adequate representation to each one of them. My Lord, I feel that it is only reasonable to ask that, as far as possible, each interest may be represented by about a third of the whole Senate. Thus, taking the case of Bombay, I would fix the number of ordinary Fellows at 150, and of these, I would have 50 nominated by Government, 50 either elected by or assigned to different Colleges, and the remaining 50 thrown open to election by the graduates of different Faculties of more than ten years' standing. In giving representation to Colleges, I would take into consideration all those points which the Government wants to be considered in affiliating an institution. Of course a majority of the representatives of Colleges will as a rule vote with Government nominees, and Government will thus have a standing majority in favour of its views. I would make these Fellowships terminable at the end of ten years, which would provide for 15 vacancies every year. I venture to think, my Lord, such a plan will duly safeguard all the different interests. I may mention that in the new Constitution of the London University, out of 54 Fellows, 17 are elected by graduates, 17 by Professors and teachers, 4 are appointed by the Crown, and the rest are nominated by certain bodies and institutions. Failing the plan which I have suggested, I would support the scheme proposed by the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Guru Das Banerji in his minute of dissent. It is impossible for me to support the proposals put forward on this point by Government in the Bill.

Representation on Syndicate

My Lord, I must not discuss any of the details of the Bill at this meeting, though I have a good deal to say about many of them. But one or two remarks I will offer on two other points, which in my opinion are points of principle. The first is the provision in the Bill to give at least half the number of seats on the Syndicate for the different Faculties to Professors and teachers. My Lord, I am opposed to this provision. I would give a large representation to these men on the Senate, but having done that, I would leave the Syndicate to be composed of those whom the Senate considers to be best qualified. How would the proposed provision work in the case of the Bombay University? In the Faculty of Arts, the provision will not cause any inconvenience, and, as a matter of fact, the present practice is to have half the men in this Faculty from

the ranks of Professors. But in the Faculty of Law, what will be the result? There is only one Law School in Bombay, which is a Government institution. The Professors are generally junior barristers, who stick to their posts till they get on better in their profession. They are generally not Fellows of the University. And yet, if this provision is adopted, they will first have to be appointed Fellows, and then straightway one of them will have to be put on the Syndicate, in place of a High Court Judge or a senior barrister, who represents the Faculty at present on the Syndicate. Again, in the Faculty of Engineering, the present practice is to elect eminent Engineers in the service of Government. The Engineering College of the Presidency is at Poona, and it will be a matter of serious inconvenience to insist on one of the Professors of that College being necessarily elected a Syndic. Moreover, my Lord, I really think it is not desirable to prop, thus, by means of the statute, men whom the Senate — and especially the re-constructed Senate — does not care to put on the Syndicate.

Residential Quarters

Another point on which I would like to say a word is the provision in this Bill that henceforth all institutions applying for affiliation must satisfy the Syndicate that they have provided themselves with residential quarters. In the first place, what is to happen, if they build the quarters, and then find that affiliation is refused? And secondly, I submit that such a condition will practically prevent the springing into existence of new Colleges and will, if made applicable to old Colleges, as the Syndicate is empowered to do, wipe out of existence many of those institutions — especially on this side of India — which in the past have been encouraged by the Government and the University to undertake the work of higher education. I freely recognize the great advantages of residence at a college, but if I have to choose between having no College and having a College without residential quarters, I would unhesitatingly prefer the latter alternative. My Lord, the people of this country are proverbially poor, and to impose on them a system of University education, which even a country like Scotland does not afford, is practically to shut the door of higher education against large numbers of very promising young men.

Main Provisions Retrograde

My Lord, I have spoken at so much length at this stage of the Bill, because the issues involved in this attempt at reform are truly momentous. I confess that there is a good deal in this Bill with which I am in hearty sympathy. But the main provisions of the Bill are so retrograde in character that it is impossible for me to support the measure. My Lord, I have already admitted and I admit again, that there are serious defects in the methods of teaching and of examination pursued at present in this country. But the present Bill, in my opinion, offers no remedy calculated to cure the evil. I really think, my Lord, that the Government has begun the work of University reform at the wrong

end. It is not by merely revolutionizing the constitution of the Universities that the object which all well-wishers of higher education in this land have equally at heart will be attained. It seems to me that the first step in the work of real reform is for Government to make its own Colleges model Colleges. Bring out from England the best men available for this work. I would place them on a level with members of the Civil Service, as regards pay and promotion. When I think of the great responsibilities of these men — of how much of the future of this country and of British rule depends upon the influence they succeed in exercising on the young minds committed to their care — and when I think of the more or less stereotyped character of the work which a majority of the civilians have at present to perform, I am astonished that Government does not see how necessary it is to secure even a better type of men for its Colleges than for the administration of the country. If Government will bring out only the best men available — men who know how to combine sympathy with authority and who, for their learning and character, will continue to be looked up to by their pupils all their life — there will, in a few years, be a marked change in the tone of Government Colleges in India. And the private Colleges will find themselves driven to work up to the level of Government institutions.

Liberation of Indian Mind

One word more on this subject and I have done. Let not Government imagine that unless the education imparted by Colleges is the highest which is at the present day possible, it is likely to prove useless and even pernicious; and secondly, let not the achievements of our graduates in the intellectual field be accepted as the sole, or even the most important, test to determine the utility of this education. I think, my Lord — and this is a matter of deep conviction with me — that, in the present circumstances of India, all Western education is valuable and useful. If it is the highest that under the circumstances is possible, so much the better. But even if it is not the highest, it must not on that account be rejected. I believe the life of a people — whether in the political or social or industrial or intellectual field — is an organic whole, and no striking progress in any particular field is to be looked for unless there be room for the free movement of the energies of the people in all fields. To my mind the greatest work of Western education in the present state of India is not so much the encouragement of learning as the liberation of the Indian mind from the thraldom of old-world ideas and the assimilation of all that is highest and best in the life and thought and character of the West. For this purpose not only the highest but *all* Western education is useful. I think Englishmen should have more faith in the influence of their history and their literature. And whenever they are inclined to feel annoyed at the utterances of a discontented B.A., let them realize that he is but an incident of the present period of transition in India and that they should no more lose faith in the results of Western education on this account than should my countrymen question the ultimate

aim of British rule in this land, because not every Englishman who comes out to India realizes the true character of England's mission here.

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on Friday, the 18th *March*, 1904, *Mr. T. Raleigh moved that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill to amend the law relating to the Universities of British India be taken into consideration. Gokhale opposed the motion in the following speech:*

Opposition to the Bill — an Obvious Duty

My Lord, it is only two weeks today since the Government of India carried through this Council a highly controversial measure, which had evoked a perfect storm of hostile criticism throughout the country. The echoes of that controversy have not yet died out, when the Council is called upon to consider and pass into law another measure even more contentious and vastly more important than the last one. My Lord, if the position of those who opposed the Official Secrets Bill on the last occasion was, from the beginning, a hopeless one by reason of the large majority which the Government can always command in this Council, that of those who deem it their duty to resist the passage of the Universities Bill today is even more hopeless. In the first place, our ranks, thin as they then were, are even thinner today. Two of our colleagues who were then with us, are, in this matter, against us and will no doubt give their powerful support to the Government proposals. Secondly, Anglo-Indian public opinion, which was, if anything, even more pronounced than Indian public opinion in its condemnation of the Official Secrets Bill, is, in regard to this measure, for the greater part, either silent or more or less friendly. Thirdly, both your Lordship and the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill are recognized to be distinguished authorities on educational matters, and the Government have further strengthened their position by the appointment to this Council of four prominent educationists from four different Provinces for the special purpose of assisting in the passage of this Bill. Last, but not least, not only do the Government attach the greatest importance to this measure, but they also feel most keenly on the subject, as was clearly seen in December last, when the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill, in replying to some of my observations, spoke with a warmth which, from one of his equable temper and his philosophic cast of mind, must have surprised the Council, and when even your Lordship — if I may be permitted to say so — spoke in a tone of severity, which I ventured to feel I had not quite deserved. My Lord, it is a matter of everyday human experience that, when men feel strongly on a point, there is a smaller chance of their appreciating properly the case of their opponents than if there were no feeling involved in the matter. The fight today is thus for several reasons even more unequal than on the last occasion. But those who are unable to approve the proposals of Government feel that they have an obvious duty to perform in the matter, and they must proceed to the performance of that duty, however heavy may be the odds against them.

Prejudice of Indigenous Enterprize

My Lord, what is this measure of University reform, round which so fierce a controversy has raged for some time past? Or I will ask the same question in another form. What is it that this Bill seeks to achieve, which could not have been achieved without special legislation? For an answer to this question we must turn to the provisions of the Bill, and these provisions we may classify under three heads. First, those dealing with the expansion of the functions of the Universities; secondly, those dealing with the constitution and control of the Universities; and, thirdly, those dealing with the control of affiliated Colleges. Of these, I would willingly have assented to the last group, had those provisions stood by themselves — unaccompanied by the constitutional changes proposed in the Bill. My Lord, no true well-wisher of the country can object to the Universities in India exercising a reasonable amount of control over their Colleges, as such control is necessary to enforce properly those obligations which affiliated institutions are understood to accept when they come forward to undertake the responsibility of imparting higher education. But there are reasons to fear that, in the hands of the reconstituted Senates and Syndicates, these provisions will operate to the prejudice of indigenous enterprize in the field of higher education, and this, of course, largely alters their complexion.

Bill Quite Unnecessary

But whether one's fears on this point are well or ill-founded ore thing is clear — that the present Bill was not needed to enable Universities to exercise this control over their Colleges. For the University of Madras has, under the existing law, framed regulations for this purpose, which are substantially the same as those contained in this Bill; and what Madras has done, the other Universities could very well do for themselves. Surely, all this convulsion, which the Bill has caused, was not necessary to enable these bodies to do that which they have the power to do under the existing law! Again, in regard to the provisions empowering the Universities to undertake teaching functions, I hope I am doing no injustice to the authors of the Bill, if I say that they themselves attach only a theoretical value to these provisions. The Allahabad University has possessed these powers for the last sixteen years, and yet that University is as far from undertaking such functions as any other in India. The truth, my Lord, is that, in addition to other difficulties inherent in the position of our Universities, their conversion into teaching bodies, even to the limited extent to which it is possible, is essentially a question of funds, and as there is no reason to assume that private liberality will flow in this direction after the Bill becomes law, and Government will not provide the resources necessary for the purpose, these enabling clauses are, as in the case of Allahabad, destined to remain a dead letter for a long time to come. The Government themselves do not seem to take a different view of the matter, as, after

including these provisions in the Bill, they are content to leave the rest to time with the expression of a pious hope that some day somebody will find the money to enable some University in India to undertake teaching functions ! While, therefore, I am prepared to recognize that these provisions embody a noble aspiration, I must decline to attach any great value to them for practical purposes, and, in any case, they are no set-off against the drastic changes proposed in the constitution of the Universites. We thus see that for enabling the Universities to exercise efficient control over their Colleges this Bill was not required at all; while, though new legislation was necessary to enable the older Universities to undertake teaching functions, a Bill so revolutionary in character was not needed for the purpose.

Minute of Dissent

The claim of the Bill to be regarded as an important measure of reform must, therefore, rest on the provisions dealing with the constitution and control of the Universities. My Lord, I have tried to examine these provisions as dispassionately as I could and to put as favourable a construction on them as possible; and yet I cannot resist the conclusion that, while the good they may do is at best problematical, the injury that they will do is both certain and clear. In the minute of dissent which I have appended to the Select Committee's Report I have discussed at some length the real nature and the probable effect of these provisions. I have urged there five principal objections to the constitutional portion of the Bill, namely, (1) in making a clean sweep of existing Senates and in giving them no voice whatever in the nomination of the first new Senates, the Bill inflicts an unmerited indignity on men who have on the whole done good work in the past; (2) the Bill fails to provide for election by Professors, and yet this is the class of men that has more immediate interest than any other in the deliberations of the University; (3) the numbers of the new Senates are fixed too low; (4) the proportion of seats thrown open to election is too small while that reserved for Government nomination is too large; and (5) the five years' limit to the duration of a Fellowship aggravates the evil of an overwhelming number of seats being in the gift of Government. And I have expressed my belief that the effect of these provisions will be virtually to dissociate the Indian element from the government of the Universities and to put all directive and administrative power into the hands of European Professors, within such limits as the Government may allow.

Complaints Highly Exaggerated

The supporters of the Bill practically admit the correctness of this contention by saying that the main purpose of the Bill is to get rid of the old Senates, which contain a large unacademic element, and to create new Senates, which shall be academic in their composition, under guarantees of their always retaining this character. It is urged by these men that, as the Universities are

intended for imparting Western education, it is only proper that, their direction should be mainly in the hands of Europeans; and we are further told that the presence of a large unacademic element in the existing Senates has tended to lower the standard of University education and to impair discipline. Especially has this been the case, so we are assured, with the University of Calcutta, and a writer, writing under the name of 'Inquisitor,' has spent considerable industry and ingenuity in demonstrating how both efficiency and discipline have suffered as a result of Indians — especially, Indians unconnected with the profession of teaching — having a substantial voice in the deliberations of that University. My Lord, I am myself personally unacquainted with the working of the Calcutta University, but I have made inquiries, and I find that while there may be some room for the complaint which 'Inquisitor' makes, the evil has been greatly exaggerated and in any case there are facts on the other side, which he might well have included in his statement. For instance, he might have told us that in 1881 no less an educationist than Sir Alfred Croft[1] brought forward a proposal for removing classical languages from the list of compulsory subjects, and it was mainly by the votes of the Indian Fellows present and by the casting vote of the chairman that the proposal was rejected. I would like to know how the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh or the Hon'ble Dr. Bhandarkar[2] would regard such a proposal today.

Again, we find that, in 1893, a Committee consisting almost entirely of educational experts, including several prominent European educationists, declined to approve a rule laying down that no teacher in a recognized school should teach more than sixty pupils at the same time, Dr. Gurudas Banerjee being the only member of the Committee who stood out for such a rule. In 1894, on a motion brought forward by Surgeon-Colonel McConnell, supported by Professor Rowe and Surgeon-Colonel Harvey, the regulation which required candidates for the M.D. degree to have passed the B.A. examination was rescinded, and it is worth remembering that the motion was opposed by an Indian member, Dr. Nil Ratan Sarkar. Even in the well-known case of a prominent Calcutta College, when a serious charge was brought against the working of its Law Department, it is a remarkable circumstance, which 'Inquisitor' might have mentioned, that the Syndicate, which proposed a temporary disaffiliation of the Law branch of the College, was unanimous in making the recommendation, and of the nine members who voted for this proposal, seven were Indians, six of them being again unconnected with the

[1] Sir ALFRED CROFT, Director of Public Instruction, Bengal (1877-97); member, Education Commission (1882-83); member, Bengal Legislative Council (1887-92); Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University (1892-96).

[2] Dr. R. G. BHANDARKAR (1837-1925); orientalist and social reformer; Professor of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay; and Deccan College, Poona; Fellow, Bombay University (1866), Syndic (1873-81); Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (1893-95); member, Bombay Legislative Council (1904-05); member, several learned societies in India and outside.

profession of teaching. My Lord, I have mentioned these few facts to show that a wholesale condemnation of Indian Fellows — even of such of them as have been unconnected with the work of education — is neither fair nor reasonable, and that the position in reality comes very much to this — that, when Englishmen have proposed changes in the existing order of things, nothing is said, but, when similar changes have been proposed by Indian Fellows, the cry that efficiency or discipline is in danger has been raised without much hesitation by those who would like to keep the management of University affairs mainly in European hands.

Teaching Unaffected by Constitution

My Lord, if any one imagines that the passing of this Bill will lead to an improvement in the quality of the instruction imparted in Colleges, he will soon find that he has been under a delusion. Even those who make the more guarded statement that the Bill, by providing an improved machinery of control, will bring about a steady and sure reform in the character and work of affiliated institutions, will find that they have been too sanguine in their expectations. My Lord, after nearly twenty years' experience as a teacher, I lay it down as an incontestable proposition that a teacher's work with his students is but remotely affected by the ordinary deliberations of a University, and that, if he finds that he is unable to exercise on their minds that amount of influence which should legitimately belong to his position, he may look within himself rather than at the constitution of the Senate or the Syndicate for an explanation of this state of things. Of course in regulating the courses of instruction, and prescribing or recommending text-books, the University determines limits within which the teacher shall have free scope for his work. But these courses of instruction, once laid down, are not disturbed except at considerable intervals, and in regard to them as also in regard to the selection of text-books the guidance of the expert element is, as a rule, willingly sought and followed. The substitution of an academic Senate for one in which there is a considerable mixture of the lay element will no doubt effect some change in the character of the University debates; but that cannot affect the work done in Colleges in any appreciable degree. For an improvement in this work, we want better men, more money and improved material. The first two depend, so far as Government Colleges are concerned, on the executive action of Government which could be taken under the old law and which has no connection whatever with the present Bill. And when an improvement takes place in the manning and equipment of Government institutions, the private Colleges will find themselves driven, as a matter of course, to raise their level in both these respects. As regards improvement in the material on which the College Professors have to work, that depends on the character of the instruction imparted in secondary schools, and the character of the examinations prescribed by the University. Of these two factors, the education given in High Schools is not

affected by this Bill and the character of the examinations, which I have long felt to be most unsatisfactory, will continue practically the same under the new regime as under the old, since examiners will continue to be drawn from the same class as now, and the conditions of their work will also continue the same.

Chairs and Scholarships

Unless, then, there is an improvement in the manning and equipment of Colleges, and in the quality of the material on which Professors have to work, it is idle to expect any improvement in the work done in these Colleges. My Lord, I go further and say that, even if better men and more money and improved material were available, the improvement is bound to be slow. The three factors of men, money and material will have to act and re-act on one another continuously for some time before a higher academic atmosphere is produced without which there can be no real elevation of the standard of University education. To this end, the Bill has, as far as I see, very little contribution to make. There is, indeed, one way in which the Bill can help forward such a result, and that is — if under its operation the Universities are enabled, by funds being placed at their disposal, to establish University chairs. The institution of such chairs, especially if supplemented by a large number of research scholarships in the different Provinces for more advanced students, will powerfully stimulate the creation of that higher academic atmosphere of which I have spoken. But it seems this is just the part of the Bill which will not come into operation for a long time to come. It will thus be seen that the Bill has very little connection with the improvement of the work done in the affiliated Colleges of the Universities.

Indian Situation Exceptional

It may, however, be said that the creation of academic Senates is in itself a desirable end, since in other countries the government of the Universities is in the hands of those who are engaged in the work of teaching. My Lord, my reply to this argument is that the whole position is exceptional in India; and that it is not fair to the people of this country that the higher education of their children should be under the exclusive control of men who want to leave this country as soon as they can, and whose interest in it is, therefore, only temporary. Of course, the Professors must have a substantial voice in the deliberations of our Universities; but with them must also be associated, almost on equal terms, specially for the purpose of determining broader outlines of educational policy, representatives of the educated classes of India. And, my Lord, it is because the Bill proposes to ignore this aspect of the question, and practically reverses the line of policy adopted by Government in this matter for the last half a century that I look upon the measure as a distinctly retrograde one. The highest purpose of British rule in India, as I understand it, is not merely to govern the country well, but also to asso-

ciate, slowly it may be but steadily, the people of this country with the work of administration. In proportion as a given measure helps forward this purpose, it makes for true progress. Whatever, on the other hand, has the contrary tendency deserves to be declared as reactionary. There is no doubt whatever that under this Bill the proportion of Indian members in the Senates of the different Universities will be much smaller than at present. The Fellows elected by graduates will, as a rule, be Indians; the Faculties will consist almost entirely of Government nominees and of such other persons as these nominees may co-opt. There is not much room for the hope that any considerable proportion of the Fellows elected by these Faculties will be Indians. As regards Government nominations, their choice will naturally first fall on European educationists; then will come European Judges, Barristers, Civilians, Engineers, Doctors and such other people. As the numbers of the new Senates are now to be very small, one can easily see that there is hardly any margin for the inclusion of any except a very few most prominent Indians in the Government list. The Senates of the future will thus be dominantly European with only a slight sprinkling of Indians just to keep up appearances. And it is these Senates and the Syndicates elected by them that are armed with powers of control over affiliated Colleges which may easily be abused.

Ascendancy of Englishmen

My Lord, it fills me with great sadness to think that, after fifty years of University education in this country, the Government should have introduced a measure which, instead of associating the Indian element more and more with the administration of the Universities, will have the effect of dissociating it from the greater part of such share as it already possessed. I think the ascendancy of Englishmen in India in any sphere of public activity should rest, if it is to be of real benefit to the country, on intellectual and moral, and not on numerical or racial grounds. My Lord, in your speech on the Budget of last year, your Lordship thought it necessary to address a caution to the opponents of this Bill. You asked them not to assume that 'all the misguided men in the country were inside the Government and all the enlightened outside it.' If any of the critics of this Bill had ever made such a preposterous assumption they well merited the caution. But it sometimes seems to me that the supporters of this Bill argue as though the reverse of that assumption was justified, and that every one who was opposed to this Bill was either a misguided person or an interested agitator. My Lord, I do hope that whatever our deficiencies, we are not really so dense as to be incapable of understanding what is in our interest, and what is not, nor, I hope, are we so wicked and ungrateful as to bite the hand that is stretched to feed us. It is because we feel that this Bill is of a most retrograde character and likely to prove injurious to the cause of higher education in the country that we are unable to approve its provisions, and it is because

I hold this view that I deem it my duty to resist the passage of this Billl to the utmost of my power.

Unjust Condemnation of Bombay University

At the same meeting, in the course of the consideration of the Report of the Select Committee, Gokhale moved

that, from the preamble, the word " Bombay ", wherever it occurs, and the reference to Act XXII of 1887 be omitted, and the words " except Bombay " be added after the words " British India ".

In moving the amendment, he made the following speech :

My Lord, my object in moving this amendment is to enter my protest at this Council against the Government of India proposing to deal in one Bill with five different Universities having different histories and growth, and to raise my voice in a formal manner against the unjust condemnation which this Bill impliedly passes on the work and character of the Bombay University as at present constituted. In the course of the discussions in the Select Committee over this Bill, the case of the Calcutta University was again and again mentioned to justify the inclusion within the Bill of provisions to which exception was taken on the ground that they were unnecessary and might even prove harmful in other Provinces. We were repeatedly told that the Calcutta University had drifted into such a position that there was no hope for it without a drastic measure of reform, such as is contemplated in this Bill. My Lord, if the state of things in Calcutta was really so hopeless, what was there to prevent the Government from undertaking an amendment of the Calcutta University Act on such lines as they thought proper ? The wisdom and foresight of those who passed the original Acts of Incorporation for the three older Universities had made it easy for the Government to adopt such a course. Those Acts were identical in their wording, and yet they were passed separately for each one of the three Universities, so that whatever amendment was subsequently found necessary as a result of the special circumstances of each case might be made without interfering with the natural growth of the other Universities. Or, if the Government of India wanted that certain general principles should be introduced or emphasized in the constitution of the different Universities in India, the proper course for them to pursue was to have laid down these principles in a general Resolution, and to have directed the Local Governments to introduce amending legislation to give effect to them without doing any undue and unnecessary violence to the special character and growth of each University. It would then have been possible to legislate for the different Universities in India with a full knowledge of local conditions, and after giving due weight to local objections and criticisms. And we should not have witnessed the spectacle of men generalizing for five Universities from their knowledge of a single University, and assisting in the work of legislation for Univer-

sities other than their own, in greater or less ignorance of their special conditions.

Bombay's Record Satisfactory

If the amending legislation for Bombay had been undertaken in the Bombay Legislative Council instead of here, I am confident that the Bill would have been much more satisfactory, as the changes proposed would have had to face the fullest discussion and the closest scrutiny on the spot. My Lord, I see no justification for extending the provisions of this Bill to the case of the Bombay University; the record of that University is on the whole such that it may well regard it with a sense of satisfaction. It has been a record of powers well and judiciously exercised, of continuous attempts to raise the standard of education by a revision of the courses of instruction from time to time, and in other ways. Take, for instance, the question of the affiliation of Colleges. There are only eleven Arts Colleges in the whole of the Bombay Presidency, and of these, only one is a second grade College, and that is in the Native State of Kolhapur. Of these eleven Colleges, two are Government institutions, four more are in Native States with the resources of these States at their back, two more are maintained by Municipal bodies with the assistance of the Government and of the general public, and only three are private Colleges, of which two are missionary institutions and one only of indigenous growth. All these private Colleges receive substantial grants-in-aid from Government. In the case of not a single one of these Colleges can it be said that it has been started for private gain. Their constant endeavour has been to place better and better facilities for real education at the disposal of their students. All these Colleges, with the exception of the second grade College at Kolhapur, provide residence in College for at least a part of their students. In my College we have built residential quarters for more than half of our students, and two of our Professors reside on College grounds. A large spot of 37 acres in one of the finest localities outside the City of Poona has been secured for the College, and College buildings with residential quarters for the students and houses for Professors have been built thereon. We are making continuous additions to our library and laboratory, and in fact no effort is being spared to make the College as much a seat of true College life, as it is, in existing circumstances, possible. What is true of my College is true of other Colleges in the Presidency also. Only Bombay and Poona have more than one College each, Bombay having three and Poona two. No suggestion has ever been made that any College encourages a spirit of low rivalry such as is justly objected to by the Universities Commission in their Report; there is of course room, great room, for improvement in the Bombay Colleges; but that is, in reality, a question of men and means and this Bill has no connection with it.

Standards of Examination

Again it cannot be urged with any regard for fairness that the Bombay Senate

has ever attempted to lower the standard of efficiency or discipline. On the other hand, it has steadily striven to raise its standards for the different examinations. Thus, taking its work in the Faculty of Arts, we find that it has extended the old course of three years between Matriculation and B. A. to four years; substituted two examinations in place of the old F.E.A., made History and Political Economy compulsory subjects in the B.A., and raised considerably the standard of English and the classical languages required for the several examinations. In all matters relating to courses of instruction and the selection of text-books, it has invariably followed the advice of educational experts. So far as I know, there have been only two occasions of importance on which there has been a difference of opinion between a majority of European educational experts and the general body of the Senate, but these were matters not specially falling within the particular sphere of the experts, and in regard to both of them I think the Senate was right in its decision. One such occasion was when the Deans of the several Faculties were made ex-officio members of the Syndicate. Though the experts opposed this reform at the time, they themselves admit now that it has proved useful. The second occasion was when an attempt was made to introduce examinations by compartments after the Madras system. The reform was recommended by a Committee which included two European educationists — Dr. Peterson and the Rev. R. Scott; but a majority of European experts in the Senate opposed it, and, though the proposal was carried in the Senate, it was subsequently vetoed by Government. But whatever difference of opinion there may be about the soundness or unsoundness of the proposal, I think it is absurd to describe it as an attempt to lower the standard of University education.

Monopoly of European Educationists

It may be asked why, if the state of things has on the whole been so satisfactory in Bombay, so many of the European educationists there are supporting the Bill. The answer to that, I think, is simple. By this Bill the Government of India go out of their way to make a present of a permanent monopoly of power to European educationists, and it is not to be expected that they should raise any objection to such a course. One of the strongest supporters of this Bill on our side is our present Vice-Chancellor.[1] He was a member of the Universities Commission and has signed the Commission's Report. Well, twelve years ago, when an attempt was made by the Bombay University to secure an amendment of its Act of Incorporation, Dr. Mackichan took a most active part in the deliberations of the Senate. And he then was strongly in favour of fixing the number of Fellows at 200, of giving no statutory recognition to the Syndicate with or without a Professorial majority, and of leaving a large measure of independence to the University. Of course, he has every right to change his views, but that does not mean that those who now hold

[1] The Reverend Dr. Mackichan, Principal, Wilson College, Bombay.

the views which he so strongly advocated twelve years ago are necessarily in the wrong. My Lord, it is true that certain educational experts have in the past exercised a commanding influence in the deliberations of our Senate, and it is also true that men who have succeeded to their places have not necessarily succeeded to that influence.

Educational Leaders

But the great educationists who ruled our University in the past did so not merely because they were educational experts but because they were men bound to lead, wherever they were placed. Such great influence has also sometimes been exercised by men not actually engaged in the work of teaching. Of the former class, Sir Alexander Grant[1] and Dr. Wordsworth[2] may be mentioned as the most shining examples. Of the latter class have been men like Sir Raymond West,[3] the late Mr. Telang[4] the late Mr. Ranade[5] and the Hon'ble Mr. P. M. Mehta[6]— all lawyers, be it noted. Their influence has been due to their great talents and attainments, their sincere devotion to the cause of higher education, and their possession of that magnetic personality without which no man, however learned, can hope to lead even in a learned assembly. To object to the ascendancy of such men over the minds of their Fellows is really to quarrel

1 Sir ALEXANDER GRANT (1826-84), Professor of History, Elphinstone Institution (1860) and its Principal (1862); Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (1868); Director of Public Instruction, Bombay; member, Bombay Legislative Council (1868).

2 Dr. WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, Principal, Elphinstone College, Bombay; Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University.

3 Sir RAYMOND WEST, I. C. S.; Registrar, Bombay High Court (1863); Judicial Commissioner, Sind (1868 and 1872); Judge, Bombay High Court (1873-87); member, Indian Law Commission (1879); Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (1886); member, Bombay Executive Council (1887-92).

4 Mr. K. T. TELANG (1850-1893), Lawyer and social reformer; Judge, Bombay High Court; a founder-member of the Indian National Congress and its Secretary (1885-89).

5 MAHADEO GOVIND RANADE (1842–1901), father of Indian economics; editor, *Indu Prakash* (1862); Oriental Translator, Bombay Government (1866–67); Administrator, Akalkot State; Judge, Kolhapur State; Professor of English, Elphinstone College, Bombay (1867–71); Police Magistrate, Bombay; Judge, Small Causes Court, Bombay; First Class First Grade Subjudge, Nasik, Dhulia and Poona; Judge, Small Cause Court, Poona (1871); Presidency Magistrate, Bombay (1881); Special Subjudge under the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act (1879); Judge, Bombay High Court (1993–1901); member, Finance Committee appointed by the Government of India (1886); Law Member, Bombay Legislative Council (1885, 1890 and 1893); founder, National Congress and Social Conference; author of the *Rise of the Maratha Power*; *Indian Economics*, etc.

6 Sir PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA (1845-1915); member, Bombay Municipal Corporation and four times its President (1884, 1885, 1905 and 1911); a founder-member of the Indian National Congress (1885); one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association (1885); member, Bombay Legislative Council (1892); member, Imperial Legislative Council (1893-1902); President, Indian National Congress (1890); Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (1910).

with the laws of human nature. My Lord, I submit the Bombay Senate has not deserved to be extinguished in so summary a fashion as this Bill proposes and I, therefore, move that the Bill be not extended to Bombay.

At the same meeting, replying to the discussion on his amendment, Gokhale spoke as follows :

In replying to the speeches made on my amendment I would first deal with what has fallen from the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson. The Hon'ble Member imagines that I have stated that the Senate of Bombay needs no reform whatever, and that things are so satisfactory that everything ought to be kept as it is. I cannot charge my memory with having ever said any such thing. I have made two speeches in this Council and written a note of Dissent. Nowhere have I said that the state of things in Bombay ought to be allowed to continue as it is and that no reform is needed : but because I am not prepared to say that the state of things is wholly satisfactory, therefore it does not follow that I am bound to accept or approve of every suggestion of those who have undertaken the work of reform.

Unjust Official Complaints

As regards the complaint that we have no alternative remedy to propose, I submit, my Lord, that it is not a just complaint. As a matter of fact, Sir Raymond West, an eminent educationist, had drafted a Bill for reforming the constitution of the Bombay University more than twelve years ago. This had met with the acceptance of a large number of persons interested in the work of education, and if reference is made to that measure, Government will find that there is an alternative scheme, which would be generally acceptable. The Hon'ble Member says that if Dr. Mackichan has changed his views after twelve years, that is an agrument in favour of this Bill. But when Dr. Mackichan expressed these views, he had already been Vice-Chancellor of the University, and if a man's views are in a fluid condition even when he has attained so high a position, I don't think that his change of views should carry so much weight as the Hon'ble Member seems inclined to attach to it.

Then the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson says that, if this amendment is accepted, and if some other amendment is accepted, and if a third amendment is accepted, there will be very little left of the Bill. I, for one, will rejoice if the Bill is withdrawn altogether. We are not bound to pass a Bill as it stands simply because it will be useless, if we do not pass the whole of it.

With regard to what has fallen from the Hon'ble Dr. Bhandarkar—the learned Doctor was my Professor at College and I cannot speak of him or of anything that falls from him except with great reverence—I would ask him to state facts as well as opinions, which opinions would I may remark, derive additional weight if based on facts. I would like to know what reforms in the course of instruction were proposed by the experts and resisted by the lay members of the Senate.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh, to whose appreciative remarks about the Bombay University I listened with great pleasure, takes the same view as Dr. Bhandarkar and he says that he was told by certain educational experts and Professors in Bombay that it was hopeless to get a hearing for any matter of educational reform at the meetings of the Bombay Senate. My answer to that is what I have already given to Dr. Bhandarkar. I would like to know the instances in which this occurred, because facts in this controversy are of more value than mere statements : I would like to know in how many cases attempts were made to introduce measures of reform by the experts, and in how many they were defeated in their attempts by the opposition of the non-expert element.

If these men merely stayed at home and thought that no reform that they proposed was likely to be accepted, and, if in consequence, they did not attend the meetings of the Senate, I think that their position there was not quite justified. A member should not sit quietly at home under the impression that he would not get a hearing, and he failed in his duty unless he took active steps to introduce any measure of reform. The Hon'ble Member referred to Mr. Paranjpye of my College and to the evidence he gave when fresh from England. I shall be delighted if the Bombay University allows men like Mr. Paranjpye to regulate their courses of mathematical instruction, but I have here the authority of my friend Dr. Mukhopadhyaya that it is difficult to get the Calcutta University to revise its mathematical courses of instruction because of the opposition of the experts. As a matter of fact, the strongest opposition to reform very often comes from men who are themselves teachers, whose standard is not very high, who are unwilling to read new books and who object to leaving familiar grooves. It is the professors of the Bombay Colleges that have for many years practically ruled the Syndicate, and I would like to know how often they used their power to effect reforms which they now say they have long been anxious to introduce.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

At the same meeting, Rai Sri Ram Bahadur moved the following amendment :

that from the preamble the word " Allahabad " and the reference to Act XXII of 1887 be omitted, and the words " except Allahabad " be added after the words " British India ".

Gokhale spoke in support of this amendment as follows :

Plea for Omission of Allahabad

My Lord, I have really no special knowledge of the state of things in Allahabad, but my curiosity has been aroused by the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh's speech, and I trust your Lordship will excuse a brief intervention on my part in this discussion. The Hon'ble Member says that when the Commission took evidence in Allahabad, certain witnesses gave evidence to the effect that the state of things there was not quite satisfactory. Now I would really like to know who these

mysterious advisers of the Commission were. They could not have had much weight with the Government, since the Government of the United Provinces has expressed its disapproval of this Bill. They could not be men holding prominent positions in the educational world, since their most prominent educationists are members of the Syndicate, and the condemnation of the Bill by the Syndicate is described by the Registrar to be unanimous or nearly unanimous. They could not also be representatives of the general public since the Graduates' Association, as representing the views of the general public, has expressed its disapproval of this Bill. If certain stray witnesses gave evidence to the effect that the state of things in Allahabad was not satisfactory, surely neither the Commission nor the Government of India were justified in placing that above the opinion of the Local Government and of the educational experts.

Supreme Government Overriding Local Government

My Lord, this question really raises another much larger question, and that is, are the Supreme Government justified — not legally, because they have the power legally — but morally, in overriding the wishes of the Local Government? The Supreme Government in this matter is merely a representative of authority: it is not a representative of educational knowledge or learning, though in the present case particular members of the Government may occupy distinguished positions in the educational world. And as the Government of India only represents authority, and this authority has been delegated for local purposes to the United Provinces Government, when the Government is opposed to a measure like this, I think the Government of India has no moral right to impose a measure like this upon those Provinces.

There is another point about which I would say a word — and that has been suggested to me by the course of this discussion in support of having one and the same Bill for all these different Universities. That argument seems to me to be moving in a vicious circle. We are asked to pass this Bill for all the five Universities together, but we are practically told that, if each University had stood by itself, such a Bill would not have been introduced in its case. Thus the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh has told us that had the Bombay University stood alone, such legislation as the one proposed would not have been undertaken. He also says that the Calcutta University is as good as any other. Then Sir Arundel tells us that if Madras alone had been affected by the Bill, it would not have been required; the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson protests that the Punjab University is not a whit behind any others; and lastly, Mr. Morison[1] says that the Allahabad University is really the best of all Universities. I would really like to know then which University it is whose sins have brought down upon the heads of all the wrath of the gods.

[The amendment was put and negatived.]

[1] (later) Sir T. MORISON, Principal, M.A.O. College, Aligarh (1889-1905); additional member, Imperial Legislative Council (1903-1904); member, Council of India, London.

Representation for Professors

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on Friday, 18th *March* 1904, *Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya moved the following amendment :*

That in clause 4, sub-clause (*i*), head (*e*), the following be added after sub-head (*i*) as sub-head (*ii*), the existing sub-heads (*ii*) and (*iii*) being re-numbered (*iii*) and (*iv*), namely,

"(*ii*) elected by registered Heads of, or Professors in, Institutions affiliated to the University, and University Profesors and Lecturers, if any."

Gokhale supported the amendment. In doing so, he said :

I cordially support the amendment of my Hon'ble friend Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya. I think if there is any class of men who are entitled to representation in the University it is the class of Professors, and I would put them before the Graduates, because when the Graduates have once left the University their connection with that body is generally only sentimental, whereas the Professors are affected in the work of their daily life by the deliberations of the University.

There is another reason why I want Professors to have representation. The Indian Professors are bound to be at a considerable disadvantage, if everything is left merely to Government nomination. This may not be intended, but it is likely to be the result of the practical operation of the measure.

I see that Government are going to accept an amendment to restrict their powers to appoint Fellows and that two-fifths of the men nominated by Government will belong to the profession of teaching. My point, however, is that Indian Professors, except the most eminent among them, will have small chance of attracting the notice of Government. Let us not forget that when we talk of Government very often that Government in actual practice means only the Secretary in the Educational Department, and the range of his knowledge of men — especially of Indians —cannot but be limited. English Professors have special facilities — social gatherings and so forth — for being known to the members of Government, but there is no such channel for Indian Professors, and this is an important reason why the Professors as a class should be allowed direct representation on the Senate.

The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh in opposing this motion said that he did not want to extend any further the elective principle at present, and that sufficient scope had been already given to the principle of election in this Bill. I beg to challenge the Hon'ble Member's statement on this point. So far as Allahabad is concerned, instead of expanding you have cut down the scope of the elective principle. You have cut down their right of election from 50 to 20 per cent. The same is the case with the Punjab.

Why Fight Shy of Canvassing?

The Hon'ble Member speaks of the evil of canvassing being encouraged by the elective method. I believe, like all human institutions, the system of

election has its weak points. But frankly, why should we allow ourselves to be so frightened by canvassing ? Is canvassing so unknown in this country ? Do not the elections to Municipal and Local Boards, to the Local and Supreme Legislative Councils, all involve a certain amount of canvassing ? In the West, canvassing seems to be the one royal road to offices in the gift of the public, and, if they do not fight shy of canvassing there, why should we regard canvassing with so much horror in this country ? Moreover, the proposed constituency in the present case will be a small one — only a few hundred — and the voters will be men of more than average intelligence and education.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bilderbeck[1] points out that teachers in second grade Colleges are only High School teachers engaged for an hour or so a day in College teaching. I am prepared to meet this objection by excluding the teachers in second grade Colleges from the franchise at the start. The same objection about the Colleges being so unequal has been taken by the Hon'ble Mr. Morison, who tells us that he greatly sympathizes with the subject of the amendment but whose sympathy, as far as we can see, takes the form only of criticizing other people's proposals and not of bringing forward proposals of his own, and by the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler,[2] who has tried to emphasize the general argument by telling the Council of an instance in which one of his clerks was permitted by a certain College to keep terms without practically attending it. My Lord, I am sure we all feel that such a state of things is very sad and very reprehensible; but has the Government no responsibility in this matter ? Who sanctioned the affiliation of that particular College ? Again, may I ask what steps the Hon'ble Member took to draw the attention of the University authorities to the delinquencies of that institution ? Did he report the matter to the Syndicate ? Or if he did not like to meddle in such matters when he was Meteorological Reporter, what course did he follow when he became Director of Public Instruction ? My Lord, if we are to have such incidents mentioned, let each one accept his share of responsibility in the matter.

[The motion was negatived, 5 voting for and 17 against.]

Franchise for Professors

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved

that in clause 4, sub-clause (*i*), head (*e*), sub-head (*ii*), for the words " the Faculties " the words " the registered Professors in affiliated Colleges " be substituted.

[1] Mr. J. B. BILDERBECK, Professor of English, Presidency College, Madras (1882); Director of Public Instruction and Commissioner of Government examinations (1897); Principal, Presidency College, Madras (1899-1905); additional member, Imperial Legislative Council (1903-1904).

[2] (later) Sir ALEXANDER PEDLER, Meteorological Reporter, Bengal Government (1889); Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta (1896); Director of Public Instruction, Bengal (1899); additional member, Imperial Legislative Council (1903); Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University (1904).

In moving this amendment, he said :

As your Lordship has just now pointed out, the greater part of the arguments in favour of this motion have already been anticipated in connection with the amendment moved by the Hon'ble Dr. Mukhopadhyaya. There are one or two things, however, which I wish to say in connection with this amendment. I have no objection to the privilege of election being conferred on Faculties. These Faculties are no doubt important bodies, and, at the instance of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill, they have been so expanded now as to include as members a certain proportion of persons who are not Fellows. It must be pointed out, however, that these Faculties will for the most part consist of Government nominees. We shall have in older Universities eighty men appointed by Government as against ten men elected by Graduates. It is thus clear that the Faculties will be composed of eight Government nominees to one Fellow elected by Graduates. Representation given to these Faculties will therefore be representation given practically to Government nominees and the persons co-opted by them. And I would prefer the franchise to be conferred on professors as a class to conferring it on these Faculties. It may be argued that in the London University the Faculties enjoy the franchise, and therefore we should confer it on them here. But the London Faculties consist exclusively of teachers, while with us they will consist of such persons as the Government may choose to nominate.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Fellowship Period

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved

that in clause 4, sub-clause (2), for the word " five " the word " ten " be substituted.

He said : The effect of this amendment would be to make the period of Fellowship one of ten instead of five years. I admit, my Lord, that once we make the Senate a limited body, we must have terminable Fellowships. The only question is what the period of these Fellowships should be. I also admit that the choice of this period is bound to be arbitrary, but I would submit that, considering the work that has got to be done by these Fellows, ten years will be better than five years. A new Fellow will take two or three years to be familiar with the methods and the work in the Senate. The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler gave us instances of the Government nominating a large number of European Fellows and a small number of Indian Fellows and yet the Europeans being reduced to a minority owing to their leaving the Province, while the Indians remained, once they were appointed. And he said that a five years' limit was necessary to prevent such a result. This means that the duration of Fellowships is to be determined, not for the purpose of securing for the University the services of the best men but for ensuring to European Fellows a standing majority — a view of the matter against which I beg leave to protest.

In regard to what fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh in connection with the Hon'ble Dr. Mukhopadhyaya's amendment, I must still plead that a five years' duration would strike at the independence of the members. I quite admit that it is not right to say that Government will necessarily note those men who take a particular view of the questions that come before the Senate and carefully weed them out whenever an opportunity comes. At the same time let us not be carried away by too much faith as by too much distrust.

The Hon'ble Member's faith is no doubt touching in its simplicity and its completeness. But he must forgive others if they are unable to share it. Of course Government in the abstract is incapable of doing anything wrong, but Government in the concrete means individuals, not always altogether free from passion or prejudice.

As regards the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh's reference to myself, I do not know whether to regard it as a compliment or a criticism. I was under the impression that Government put me on the Select Committees because it was thought that I understood a little of the matters referred to the Committees. I did not know that the function assigned to an interesting but not very agreeable character – the Devil's Advocate — at the Canonization of Saints was considered to be specially in my keeping in this Council.

[The motion was negatived, 5 voting for and 16 against.]

Fellows not Appointed Carefully

At the same meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya moved

that in clause 4, sub-clause (2), for the word " five " the word " seven " be substituted.

While the amendment was under discussion, Gokhale said :

I wish to make only one observation, and that with reference to what fell from your Excellency in connection with the last motion. My Lord, I never intended to imply that future Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors were not to be trusted to make their nominations in an absolutely conscientious manner. But we must look at facts, as they exist. A Chancellor in an Indian University is the Head of the Government, and it has happened in the past and may happen again that he takes little or no interest in university matters, especially in connection with the nomination of Fellows. In such cases the work is likely to be left to the Secretary who is in charge of the Education Department. Now, unless it is to be insisted that every member of the Civil Service and every officer of Government must be trusted absolutely, I really do not think that any exception need be taken to the argument that proper care may not be taken at times in the appointment of Fellows.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Number of ex officio Fellows

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved

that in clause 5, sub-clause (2), the words " additions to or " be omitted,

and in the proviso to the same sub-clause for the word " ten ", the words " the number specified in the said schedule " be substituted.

In moving the amendment, Gokhale said : The effect of this amendment would be to take away from the Chancellor the power to make additions to the list of *ex officio* Fellows, though it leaves untouched his power to make alterations in the list, provided the present number is not exceeded. Already the Chancellor possesses the power to appoint directly eighty per cent. of the Senate, and ten per cent. more will be appointed at the instance of his nominees. There is thus ample margin for him to put whomsoever he pleases in the Senate, and the discretion to add to the list of *ex officio* Fellows, bestowed on him by the clause under consideration, is not required.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Fixing Number of Fellows

Gokhale moved

that in clause 6, sub-clause (1), for the words " shall not be less than fifty nor exceed one hundred ", the words " shall be one hundred and fifty " be substituted.

In doing so, he said: I attach considerable importance to this amendment. Its effect will be to fix the number of Fellows in the three older Universities at 150 instead of a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 100, as is proposed in the Bill. In the remarks which I made this morning on the Bill as amended by the (Select) Committee, I observed that if the number is too small, there would not be much margin for the inclusion of any except the most prominent Indians in it. As regards European educationists I think almost every one of them will be a member of the Senate. I gathered from certain remarks that fell from the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill in Select Committee that even the whole of the maximum of one hundred laid down in the Bill will not be appointed at the commencement of the new Act, and that the Senates in the three older Universities will for some time to come consist of some sixty or seventy members only. Of these ten are to be elected by Graduates, and they will in all probability all be Indians. Then nearly all the European Professors will be appointed by Government. In the Bombay University, there are, in all the Colleges affiliated to it, between fifty and sixty European Fellows. If therefore the new Senate is to consist of, say, seventy — or even the maximum of one hundred — it is clear that there will be hardly any room in the Government list for any except a few most prominent Indians — as European Professors, Civilians, Judges, Barristers, Engineers, Doctors and others will practically exhaust nearly all available space in the list.

Gokhale's Reply

Replying to the criticisms passed on his amendment in the course of the discussion on it, Gokhale said :

I will just say one word in reply. I fully recognize the force of the remarks

made by the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill. If it is intended to fix the standard of Fellowship as high as he contemplates — the standard that he obviously has in view when he brings in the analogy of the London University — then I quite admit that it may not be possible to find 150 or even 100. But with that standard, will the Hon'ble Member tell me if he hopes to find, not to talk of one hundred, but fifty or forty or even thirty men in a Province? Since then it is a comparative question, and since you are going to work up to 70, 80 or 100, the question is whether you might not go further. I would allow the teaching element to be in a strong position, to be even in a preponderance, but I would certainly have others associated with the teaching element, because the interests to be considered in this country are so conflicting even in matters of education. Technical matters about education I would leave exclusively to experts. But in the present state of things in India, thoughtful Indians of sound education and broad views ought to be allowed an equal voice with the experts in shaping the larger educational policy of our universities, as far as it rests with these bodies to shape that policy.

The Hon'ble Mr. Bilderbeck said that after all what number the new Senate should consist of was a matter of opinion. That is perfectly true, and we are able in this matter to quote opinions that are of weight. In Madras, for instance, we have the Rev. Dr. Miller on our side, and his position nobody will dispute. We have also the Madras Government with us, for the Madras Government proposed 150 in their first letter to the Government of India. We have on the Bombay side a man like Mr. Selby[1], one of our foremost educationists, in favour of 150. Sir Raymond West's draft Bill, to which I have already referred, proposed to fix the number at 200. Of course I quite recognize that the number has got to be arbitrary, and if the Government has made up its mind that it is not to exceed 100, well, there is no help for it.

[On a division, 4 voted for the amendment and 17 against it.]

Larger Franchise for Graduates

Gokhale moved at the same meeting

that in clause 6, sub-clause (1), head (*a*), for the word " ten ", the words " not less than one-fourth and not more than one-third " be substituted.

In moving the amendment, he said :

The effect of this amendment will be to confer on the graduates a larger franchise than what is proposed in the Bill, I have already more than once said in this Council that ten seats out of one hundred is too small a proportion to be thrown open to election by Graduates after fifty years of University education. In all other bodies — in municipalities and Local Boards, in Local and Supreme Legislative Councils — a much larger proportion is thrown

[1] Mr. F. G. Selby, Vice-Chancellor, Bombay University (1906); professor of Logic and Moral Philosophy, Deccan College, Poona and its Principal (1890); Director of Public Instruction, Bombay (1902).

open to election. I think between one-third and one-fourth will be quite a safe proportion in the present case and should be accepted.

Speaking on the amendment, Mr. Pedler asked :

Does he (Gokhale) mean one-fourth to one-third of the minimum of 50, or one-fourth to one-third of the maximum of 100? As the amendment stands, it seems for me difficult to deal with it.

Gokhale's Reply

Gokhale said : I should like to say one word. The Hon'ble Member says he is in doubt as to the meaning of my amendment. I should have thought that there was no room for doubt. In the first place, my amendment was part of a complete scheme in which the Senate was to consist of 150, and one-fourth to one-third of that number was to be assigned to election by Graduates. Perhaps the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler will tell me what is meant by the expression ' any such number '. Is ' any such number ' intended to mean 50 or 100, or any other number between the two? I think the meaning is that whatever the number of the Senate may be as determined by Government, out of that number not less than one-fourth and not more than one-third should be elected by Graduates. The Graduates will have the right of electing 12 if the number of the Senate is 50, and they are allowed to elect one-fourth of that, and that is better than 10. If the number is 100 then they will have the right of electing between 25 and 33; I think that the point is perfectly clear.

His Excellency the President : I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is quite right in his interpretation.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Fellows in Allahabad and Punjab Universities

At the same meeting Gokhale moved

that in clause 6, sub-clause (2), for the words " not be less than forty nor exceed seventy-five " the words " be one hundred " be substituted.

While moving the amendment, he spoke as follows : The effect of this amendment will be to fix the numbers of the Senates of the Allahabad and Punjab Universities at 100. The Punjab University began with 119 Fellows. The Allahabad University began with 32 ordinary and a large number of *ex officio* Fellows. They have, I believe, now over 100. I think, my Lord, that 100 is a reasonable figure and there is no reason why Government should cut it down.

[The amendment was put and negatived.]

Election by Graduates

At the same meeting Gokhale moved the following amendment :

that in clause 6, sub-clause (2), for heads (*a*) and (*b*) the following head be substituted, head (*c*) being re-lettered (*b*) namely :

"(*a*) not less than one-half shall be elected by the Senate and by registered Graduates in such proportions as the Chancellor may from time to time determine."

In moving the amendment, he said : The object of this amendment is two-fold — first, to prevent the proportion of seats thrown open to election being cut down from 50 per cent. to 20 per cent. as is proposed; and, secondly, to ensure that election by Graduates, to however limited an extent, should be introduced at once in the two Provinces. I submit, my Lord, that no case had been made out for the retrogression involved in reducing the proportion of elected members from one-half to one-fifth in the two Senates. Also, as there is a considerable constituency of qualified Graduates available, there is no reason why that constituency should not be permitted to exercise the franchise at once.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Two-fifths of Fellows to be Professors

At the same meeting, Mr. Raleigh moved

that in clause 6 of the Bill as amended, the following be added as sub-clause (4), namely :

(4) Elections of Ordinary Fellows by the Faculties and nominations of such Fellows by the Chancellor under this section shall be made in such manner as to secure that not less than two-fifths of the Fellows so elected and so nominated respectively shall be persons following the profession of education.

In speaking on the amendment, Gokhale said :

I also beg to support this amendment. After the objection that was taken this morning to my suggesting some fear as to what the authorities might do in certain circumstances, I am glad that Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Morison have relieved me of the necessity of making another such reference. The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler has also, I am glad to see, supported this amendment. I have not been able to understand the Hon'ble Member's position in this matter. I have looked at the opinions of the officers of the Bengal Government, and I find therein an opinion recorded by the Hon'ble Member, in which he expresses himself in favour of a statutory proportion of one-half being reserved for teachers. When therefore I saw that he had signed the Minute of Dissent of the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh and the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson, I concluded that he had probably changed his opinion on that point. However, I see now that he is again prepared to stand by his first opinion. There is, however, one difficulty, my Lord, which I would like to point out in connection with this amendment. As it is put here, it is provided that two-fifths of the men elected by Faculties should consist of men following the profession of education. That would be four out of ten. Now the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh will remember that in Select Committee we carefully omitted all figures which were not multiples

of five. The original proposal in the case of Allahabad and the Punjab was that eight members were to be elected by the Senate and seven by the Faculties. But after some discussion we changed that into ten by the Senate and five by the Faculties, so as to make the figures multiples of five. For purposes of election, the teaching and non-teaching Fellows elected by Faculties will have to be shown in separate lists. How then are five men on the one hand and six men on the other to go out in five years ? The difficulty will be specially experienced in enforcing the transitory provision.

[The motion was put and agreed to.]

Proportion of Non-Official Element

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on Saturday, the 19th *March* 1904, *Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya moved the following amendment :*

that after clause 6, the following be inserted as a new clause 7, the subsequent clauses being renumbered accordingly, namely :

" 7 (1) The Ordinary Fellows of the University shall be persons distinguished for their attainments in any branch of Literature, Science or Art or for their devotion to the cause of education.

(2) Not less than two-fifths of the total number of Ordinary Fellows shall be non-officials.

(3) When the jurisdiction of the University extends over more than one province, the nominations of Ordinary Fellows by the Chancellor shall be made, as far as practicable, with due regard to a fair representation of the educational interests of each of such Provinces.

(4) The nominations of Ordinary Fellows by the Chancellor shall be made, as far as practicable, with due regard to a fair representation of the principal religious communities whose children are educated at or admitted to the examinations of the University. "

Speaking on this amendment, Gokhale said : I beg leave to say just one word in support of a portion of the amendment which has been moved by the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya. It is that portion which has reference to the proportion of official and non-official members of the Senate. The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh just now said that the only principle which should guide us in making nominations to the Senate is to consider who are the men who are fit to be members of an academic Senate. I submit, however, that the Government themselves have gone much further in the case of other bodies; and even in regard to the Senate, in laying down the proposition that two-fifths of the members should be Professors, the Government have actually departed to a certain extent from this general principle which the Hon'ble member has just laid down. Men who are engaged in the work of teaching, as may conceivably happen, may be unfit to be members of an academic Senate, and yet if a proportion like that is laid down in their case, I do not see any reason why a similar proportion in regard to the element of non-officials in the Senate

should not be laid down. In regard to Legislative Councils we have the provision that at least half the number of the members should be non-officials ; in municipal bodies we have the same proportion. After all, facts have to be faced, and the difference of views between officials and non-officials has got to be taken note of. One thing more I will say, and that is this. Under the new scheme of University legislation the Government obtain much greater control over University matters than before. That being the case, I think it is desirable that a considerable proportion of seats should be secured for the non-officials. I therefore cordially support that part of the amendment which has reference to the proportion of two-fifths being reserved for non-officials.

[On a division, the motion was negatived, 6 voting for and 16 against.]

Contribution to the University Chest

At the same meeting Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya moved the following amendment :

that the following be inserted as a new clause 8, the subsequent clauses being re-numbered accordingly, namely :

" 8. Every Ordinary Fellow of the University shall, during the term that he continues to be such Fellow, annually pay into the University chest a sum of Rs.50 for the creation of a fund to be devoted exclusively to the objects mentioned in section 3.

" If an Ordinary Fellow does not pay such fee within the year for which it is due, the Chancellor may declare his office to be vacated. "

Taking part in the discussion on the amendment, Gokhale said: I wish to make one or two observations in regard to what has fallen from the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler. The young Indian Graduate seems to be a very convenient person. He can be pressed into service when necessary, and thrown aside when not necessary as a worthless person. The Hon'ble Member's solicitude for the young Indian Graduate seems to be of this sort.

As regards what the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh said, I may point out that the Fellows of the University will not merely have to perform onerous duties, but they also will be exercising a valuable privilege; the Faculties are allowed to elect a certain proportion of the Senate, and the Council will note that while the Graduates who are allowed the privilege of electing will have to pay an annual fee, the Fellows on whom the franchise is conferred make no payment whatever. Of course the fee proposed is a much higher one, because their position is higher and their resources presumably ampler.

In reply to the Hon'ble Dr. Bhandarkar I may say that because Fellows are required to pay an annual fee, nobody would ever imagine that it is paying money to buy an honour. It is only a contribution made to further the purposes for which the Universities exist. I think there is a good deal to be said for the amendment; it does not matter whether the amount prescribed is Rs. 50 or a smaller sum; it is a matter of principle.

[The motion was negatived, 7 voting for and 15 against.]

Allahabad and Punjab — Postponement of Election Unnecessary

At the same meeting Gokhale moved, without making a speech,

that in clause 7, sub-clause (2), for the words " one year " the words " three years " be substituted.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

At the same meeting Gokhale moved the following amendment :

that in clause 8, sub-clause (*1*) be omitted.

In doing so he said : The sub-clause postpones in the case of the Universities of Allahabad and the Punjab election by Graduates. There is provision made in the Bill for election by Graduates in both these Universities; but as I have already pointed out, the Chancellors of the two Universities are empowered to postpone this election till such time as they deem proper. My point is that this is unnecessary. Whatever may have been the reasons for withholding in Allahabad and the Punjab the elective franchise from Graduates in the past, there is no reason for such a course now. I find that at present there are about 835 B. A.s of ten years' standing; there are, moreover, about 260 M.A.s and an even larger number of Bachelors of Laws.

I confess that the figures of M. A.s at Allahabad — 260 against 231 in Bombay and 140 in Madras — somewhat astonish me; possibly the Allahabad standard of the M. A. is lower than the standard at Madras or Bombay, though perhaps Mr. Morison will not agree with this view. What I submit, however, is that the time has come when Graduates in these Universities should be allowed some sort of voice in the administration of their Universities, and when you have a constituency of over 1,000, nobody can say that it is a small constituency.

Gokhale: I must really protest against the spirit of the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Morison. I do not think he has any reason to assume that Graduates will be influenced by political considerations any more than will Government be influenced by corresponding considerations. Again, even if Graduates are influenced by these considerations, it may be because there is a political side to educational matters. As regards his argument that it was not desirable to turn the Universities into debating societies, I may say that similar criticism has been levelled at this Legislative Council; it has been said that these Councils are after all little better than debating societies. I think no good is done by such sneers.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Representation to Professors

At the same meeting, Gokhale said :

My amendment now is that the following proviso be added to this clause: Provided that not less than one-half of the persons so nominated shall be

nominated on the recommendation of the registered Profes.ors in affiliated Colleges.

I admit that this is an attempt to obtain by a flank movement what we failed to secure yesterday by a frontal attack. We want that representation should be given to Professors. We urged that in two ways. My Hon'ble friend Dr. Mukhopadhyaya first of all urged that a special sub-clause might be added to the clause which deals with the election of Fellows and that the Professors should have the franchise conferred upon them. That was rejected. I then moved that in place of the election by Faculties there should be election by Fellows. That was also rejected. We now come to the proposal that the Chancellor should take into consideration the recommendations of Professors in making half his nominations. My arguments in favour of this are the same as those urged yesterday, and therefore I do not wish to repeat them.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Non-attendance should Result in Vacation of Office

At the same meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, Gokhale moved :

that in clause 11, sub-clause (2), for the words " the Chancellor may declare his office to be vacated " the words " his office shall be declared to be vacated " be substituted.

In moving the amendment he said : This refers to the clause which provides that where an Ordinary Fellow has not attended a meeting of the Senate other than a Convocation during a period of one year, the Chancellor may declare his office to be vacated. The clause as it stands in the Bill leaves a certain amount of discretion to the Chancellor as to the cases in which he will declare a fellowship to be vacated and those in which he will not. I frankly admit that my object in moving this amendment is to limit this discretion, for I think the Bill already vests too much discretion in the Chancellor, and any further extension of his power I must resist as far as possible. Yesterday I proposed that the number of *ex office* Fellows might always be kept at what it was. This is a similar amendment which says that when a Fellow has not attended office for a year his office shall be *ipso facto* declared vacant. I do not think it should be in the power of a Chancellor to say, although this man has not attended for one year, still he shall keep his seat, while another man who has similarly failed to attend shall vacate. I think there should be one rule for all.

Gokhale's Reply

Replying to the debate on his amendment at the same meeting, Gokhale spoke as follows :

The argument used by the Hon'ble Member really goes against him. If the Chancellor can re-appoint him at once there should be no objection to his vacating his office. As regards those difficulties which he has pointed out, others might have other difficulties; the best way therefore is to have one rule for all. As the Government will have power now to appoint twenty Fellows every year, no inconvenience need be caused by such a provision, because if

any man is wanted he might be given one of the twenty seats at the disposal of Government.

[The amendment was put and negatived.]

Half New Senate should be Elected by Old Senate

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved

that to clause 12, sub-clause (*b*), the following be added, namely :

" Provided that not less than half of the Fellows so nominated shall be nominated on the recommendation of the Fellows constituting the Senate at the commencement of this Act. "

In moving the amendment, Gokhale spoke as follows :

My Lord, I attach very great importance to this amendment, as also to the one which follows. Even if the amendment which was just now moved by the Hon'ble Dr. Mukhopadhyay [1] had been accepted, I confess that that would not have satisfied me at all. Taking the case of the Bombay University, we have at present 270 Fellows. If we suppose that the new Senate would consist of 75 men, all that would have been secured by that amendment was that 50 out of these 75 should be out of the 270 who are Fellows now. I expect that more than that proportion will really be taken by the Government out of the existing Senate. The objection to the existing Senates is not that they exclude any one whom the Government would like to be there but that they include a large number of persons who ought not to be there. What I want is that when the new Senate is constituted, at least half of that new Senate shall be elected by persons who are members of the old Senate. My Lord, this summary extinction of the old Senate in so complete a manner is what I really take the strongest objection to. What the Bill proposes is that the old Senate shall bodily leave the hall of the University one fine morning, and that their places shall be taken by a new body of men appointed by Government for the purpose. Now, such a procedure is, I submit, French and not English; this sort of complete break of continuity between the new order of things and the old is really a most unusual thing, so far as English constitutional methods are concerned. My Lord, these old Senates have done good work on the whole in the past. The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh bore testimony yesterday to the character of the work that has been done. I hope that that testimony was not intended merely to soothe the feelings of those who are to be asked to leave. If they have deserved well of the State, it is not too much to ask that half of the men of the new Senate shall be recommended or elected by these men, on the lines of a resolution adopted by the Calcutta Senate. I therefore move that not less than half shall be nominated by the existing Fellows.

[1] Dr. Mukhopadhyaya's amendment was that to clause 12, sub-clause (*b*), the following proviso be added, namely :

Provided that not less than two-thirds of the Ordinary Fellows so nominated, shall be persons holding office as Fellows at the date of the commencement of this Act.

Gokhale's Reply

Replying at the same meeting to the debate which ensued on his amendment, Gokhale said :

The argument used by the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh and the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler constitutes a commentary on the character of the Bill which cannot be altogether gratifying to its authors. For it comes to this, that the vast majority of those whom the Government themselves have in the past put on these Senates are not to be trusted, even in the smallest measure, to co-operate in the work of carrying out the new reforms which the Government think it necessary to introduce. If that is really so, and if this is the state of things not in one but in all places, it might really make the Government reconsider whether the suggested reforms are after all so desirable.

Another thing that I would say is that we often hear it stated in theory that opposition is good, and opposition is welcome. If opposition is really good, and if the presence of an influential opposition in any deliberative body has its uses, then I really do not see why there should be any objection to the adoption of this amendment simply on the ground that the persons likely to be elected would be opposed to the reforms which the Government wish to see carried out.

As regards the particular instance[1] which the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler gave, and to which the Hon'ble Dr. Mukhopadhyaya has given a very effective reply, I may say this. It was one of the four cases to which I referred yesterday in my speech. The records of this case I have carefully read, because my attention was drawn to it; and having read those records recently, I confirm every word of what the Hon'ble Dr. Mukhopadhyaya has said, namely, that seven Indian members of the Syndicate unanimously recommended a certain course, and that the measure might have been adopted at the Senate but for the fact that certain very influential Englishmen took up the case of the College in regard to which this proposal was made. Therefore, an instance like that does not strengthen the case of the Government.

[The motion was put and negatived].

1 Mr. Pedler had stated that " the minutes of the Calcutta University show serveral cases where the decisions of the Senate were distinctly against discipline and order " He then alluded " to one case, where some time ago the Syndicate came to certain conclusions on the clearest evidence, and these conclusions were submitted to the Senate but were not upheld by that body. "

Refering to Mr. Pedler's statement, Dr. Mukhopadhyaya had the following to say : " The persons who stood up for the cause of discipline and order on that occasion were the Indian gentlemen on the Syndicate, headed by the first Indian (shall I say the last?) Vice-Chancellor which the Calcutta University had; the strenuous efforts of that Vice-Chancellor to maintain the cause of discipline and order were directed against the College owned by a leading member of the Indian community who might rightly be described as one of the most popular men in these provinces; but those efforts were defeated by the combined action of some of the highest European officials on the Senate, and I regret to have to add that their action met with the approval of the Government of India. "

Procedure for Constitution of Senates

At the same meeting Gokhale moved :

that for clause 12, sub-clauses (*b*) and (*c*), the following be substituted, namely :

" (*b*) The Chancellor shall also, as soon as may be after the commencement of this Act, make an order directing that the Ordinary Fellows who under the said provisions are to be elected by the Faculties, shall be elected by the Ordinary Fellows constituting the several Faculties at the commencement of the Act in such manner as the Chancellor may direct.

(*c*) When the Ordinary Fellows mentioned in clauses (*a*) and (*b*) have been elected, the Chancellor shall proceed to the nomination of Ordinary Fellows under section 6, sub-section (*1*), clause (*c*). "

In moving this amendment he made the following observations :

This is a more moderate proposal than the last one and should, I think, be accepted without hesitation. The whole scheme of election and nomination as contemplated by the Bill is this. Supposing we have 100 members of the Senate, we first of all have 10 elected by the Graduates; then the 10 whom the Faculties have to elect are to be elected; and lastly the remaining 80 or whatever number the Chancellor chooses to appoint, are to be appointed. This is the ordinary procedure laid down for the constitution of the Senate after the Bill becomes law. However, in regard to the first Senate, a departure is proposed in the Bill from this provision. It is proposed that after the Graduates' election, the Chancellor shall make his nominations, and the persons nominated by the Chancellor and those elected by the Graduates together shall elect the persons whom the Faculties are to elect. That is to say, the Chancellor is to nominate before the Faculties elect. The object of this departure seems to be to prevent the Faculties of the old Senate — those in existence at the commencement of the Act — from exercising the franchise and thus having even a small measure of voice in the composition of the new Senate. Even this small fraction of representation is not to be allowed to the old Senates, and therefore the whole scheme of the Bill is to be set aside temporarily and the Chancellor is to appoint his men, and then, when these men have been appointed, they and the Graduates' men together are to elect the men who should be elected by the Faculties. I may point out that this is hardly a reasonable procedure, because the men appointed by the Chancellor and the Graduates do not really constitute the Senate; the Senate is not complete until the election by the Faculties takes place. I therefore think that the procedure should be as laid down in my amendment.

[The Council divided, 4 voting for and 18 against the amendment, which was negatived.]

At the same meeting Gokhale moved

that to clause 12, sub-clause (*d*), the following proviso be added, namely :

" Provided that not less than half the Fellows so nominated shall be

nominated on the recommendation of the Ordinary Fellows constituting the Senate at the commencement of this Act."

[The motion was put and negatived.]

At the same meeting, Gokhale proposed the following amendment :

that for clause 12, sub-clauses (*d*), (*e*) and (*f*), the following be substituted, namely :

"(*d*) In the case of the Universities of the Punjab and Allahabad, the Chancellor shall, as soon as may be after the commencement of this Act, make an order directing that the Fellows, who under the said provisions are to be elected by the Senate, shall be elected by the Ordinary Fellows constituting the Senate at the commencement of this Act.

(*e*) The Chancellor shall also, as soon as may be after the commencement of this Act, make an order directing that the Fellows, who under the said provisions are to be elected by the Faculties, shall be elected by the Ordinary Fellows constituting the several Faculties at the commencement of this Act.

(*f*) When the Ordinary Fellows mentioned in clauses (*d*) and (*e*) have been elected, the Chancellor shall proceed to the nomination of Ordinary Fellows under section 6, sub-section (*1*), clause (*c*)."

In making the motion, Gokale said : I will only make one observation and it is this. The Senate of Allahabad elects at present every year half the number of Fellows that are appointed. Considering that this privilege is now to be withdrawn, I think it is only fair that half the number of the new Senate should at the beginning at least be elected by the old Senate.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

First Appointees Should Hold Office for Five Years

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved

that in clause 12, sub-clause (*k*), for the word "three" the word "five" be substituted.

He said : Under the scheme of the Bill the Senate is practically to be reconstituted in the course of five years, as no member is to be a member for more than five years, and a certain proportion are to go out every year so that in the course of five years the Senate may be completely reconstituted. After the first Senate has been nominated, the process of going out is to begin at the end of three years; that is, a certain proportion of Fellows of the first Senate will be Fellows, not for five years, but for three years only. The Bill provides that a Fellowship is to be of five years' duration, and I submit that there is no need whatever for departing from this rule even in the case of the Fellows appointed to the first Senate. The process of going out might begin at the end of five years instead of three years. Of course the result will be that some Fellows of the first Senate will hold office for more than five years — some for seven, some for eight and some for nine; but no harm is done to anybody by that.

...6...

Gokhale's Reply

At the same meeting, in his reply to the debate, Gokhale said :

I am glad that the Hon'ble Mr. Bilderbeck admits that it will be at least two years before the new regulations are completed, and if the process of elimination is to begin at the end of the third year, it means that for this new Senate, as constituted at the commencement, there will only be one year to introduce the reforms about which the Government are so keen. Now, I do not think that in one year all the reforms will be carried out by the Senate, however efficient it might be. I think that nothing is lost by giving a longer period than one year to such a body for the work.

As to the Hon'ble Member's remark about my being a friend of the principle of representation, I must state that it is because I am a friend of the principle of representation that I oppose this proposal. Under this Bill you give only 10 per cent to election, as against 90 per cent reserved for direct Government nomination and election by Government nominees, and it is because the principle of true representation fares so badly in this scheme that I deem it my duty to oppose it as far as possible.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Position of Old Fellows in New Set-up

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved the following amendment :

that to clause 13, the following be added as subclause (*3*), namely :

" (3) Notwithstanding anything contained in this section, any Fellow who at the commencement of this Act is entitled as such to vote for the election of any person to be a member of any Council for the purpose of making laws and regulations or of any local authority shall continue to be so entitled as if this Act had not been passed. "

In moving the amendment, Gokhale made the following speech :

My Lord, this clause refers to the position of the old Fellows after this Bill becomes law. It is provided in the Bill that these men are to be honorary Fellows for life. The amendment that I have proposed I have taken from the original Bill as drafted by the Hon'ble Member himself. I admit that in Select Committee, when this question came to be considered, the Hon'ble Member gave what then appeared to be convincing reasons why this provision should be left out. He pointed out that it would be a matter of some inconvenience to have such a provision in a Bill passed by the Government of India, when the regulations under the Indian Councils Act had been framed with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India. Since then, however, I have discussed the matter with an eminent lawyer, and he thinks that the words ' as if this Act had not been passed ' remove whatever difficulty there might otherwise have been. For purposes of the Council elections and elections to the local authority, the Senate would consist of all old Fellows and of the new Fellows holding office at the time of the elections. If this provision is left out

of the Bill, then the whole thing will be left to the action of the executive; and, though assurances have been given that steps will be taken to preserve the exercise of the franchise in the case of those who have hitherto been exercising it, I really would prefer that this point should be provided for in the Bill itself.

Mr. Raleigh : My Lord, I think the re-wording of the clause has removed the objection I took to it in the Committee, and therefore I am prepared to accept this amendment.

[The amendment was put and agreed to.]

Constitution of Faculties

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved :

that in clause 14, sub-clause (*2*), head (*b*), proviso, the word "half" be omitted.

In doing so, he said : This refers to the constitution of Faculties; an important principle has been introduced in their constitution, and that was mainly at the instance of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill, and that is that these Faculties are not to consist merely of men who are Fellows but that the Fellows in a Faculty may co-opt for certain purposes a certain number of outsiders up to a maximum limit of half their own number. Now this is a very valuable provision; and I think the Hon'ble Member was himself disposed to go beyond the limit proposed in the Bill, in Select Committee. And as a matter of fact my amendment is in terms which the Hon'ble Member was himself disposed at the beginning to accept. The men who will thus be co-opted will be the persons from among whose ranks future Fellows might be nominated. Useful training ground is thus provided by this clause for enabling young men to make themselves acquainted with the affairs of the University, and I think there is no harm in increasing their number to double of what is proposed in the Bill. I therefore move that the word "half" be omitted.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Constitution of Syndicate

At the same meeting Gokhale moved the following amendment, viz.

that in clause 15, sub-clause (*1*), head (*b*), be omitted, and that clause (*c*) be re-lettered (*b*).

In moving the amendment he said : This refers to the constitution of the Syndicate. The Bill provides that the Syndicate shall consist of, first, the Vice-Chancellor, secondly, the Director of Public Instruction, and then such a number of Fellows between seven and fifteen as may be elected to represent the several Faculties. Now my proposal is that from this list the Director of Public Instruction be omitted. I submit that no case has been made out for making him an *ex officio* member. If he took an interest in University matters and was anxious to be a member of the Syndicate, I

presume that there would be no difficulty in his being elected, seeing that 80 per cent of the Fellows are to be nominated by Government, and these men are not likely to set aside the obvious wishes of the Government that the Director of Public Instruction should be a member of the Syndicate.

In this connection I beg the Council to bear with me while I make one general statement. I think we ought to be allowed to state freely what we think will be the probable consequences of the provisions of the Bill. If in pointing out these consequences we have to assume that certain results might follow, that does not mean necessarily that we impute motives or cast aspersions. I think it is the duty of the Legislature to examine every proposal that comes before it as severely as possible. I suppose that in practice there is nobody who is more willing to trust to the discretion of the executive than myself, but in theory I deem it my duty as a Member of this Council to examine every proposal from this standpoint and to point out what might be the possible inconveniences of any measure. After all, unless it is claimed that every officer of Government is perfect and is not likely to be influenced except by the very highest motives, no objection should, I think, be taken to such criticism.

It is provided in this Bill that half the members are to be Professors; and Professors from Government Colleges are sure to be a considerable proportion of these. The presence of the Director as a matter of course at meetings of the Syndicate is likely to impair the independence of these members. It again comes to the old argument. But it is a possible contingency, a contingency which it would be well for us to bear in mind. I do not say that this will necessarily follow as a result, but at any rate it is an argument to be considered.

Then under this Bill the Government have large powers of interference and control, and they will naturally turn to their Director of Public Instruction as their highest educational officer for advice in the matters coming before them. It would therefore be well if he had not previously taken part in the deliberations of the Syndicate, as would be his duty if he was an *ex officio* member. I therefore submit that he should not be an *ex officio* member.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Statutory Guarantee to Professorial Element

At the same meeting Gokhale moved :

that in clause 15, sub-clauses (*2*) and (*3*) be omitted.

In moving the amendment, he spoke as follows : These two sub-clauses refer to the statutory guarantee which it is proposed to be given to the Professorial element that they shall have practically half the number of seats on the Syndicate. My Lord, I object most strongly to this provision. No one was more anxious than myself that the Professors should have statutory representation on the Senate, but when substantial representation has been given to them as a class in the Senate, the best men among them ought to be left to find their seats on the Syndicate by the approval of their fellows. When 40 per cent of the Senate consists of one interest, is it

conceivable that in the election of the Syndicate, half the members will not come from that particular interest, unless the men were of exceptionally modest attainments or modest claims to the recognition of their fellows ? And I submit, my Lord, that in this possible contingency the Legislature is not justified in coming to the rescue of such men.

My Lord, what would be the effect of a provision like this ? I take the case of the Bombay University. I find that in addition to the Deans who are *ex officio* members of the Syndicate there are 2 men representing Law, 2 men representing Engineering, 2 more representing Medicine, and 4 men representing Arts. It was pointed out in Select Committee that the Professors of Law are generally junior men. They are generally junior barristers who have not yet got a firm footing in their profession, and they are very often not Fellows. If none of these men is elected to the Syndicate, and further if no Engineering Professor is elected, as the Engineering College of our Presidency is at Poona, a distance of 120 miles from Bombay, the statutory proportion will have to be secured by giving all the four seats of the Faculty of Arts to Professors. This, I think, will be very unfair.

My Lord, I think that after all the question of experts has to be looked at from a practical standpoint. Even when it is suggested that experts should be in a majority on the Syndicate, or should have a certain statutory proportion set aside for them, what does it really amount to ? The men who may represent Medicine or Engineering will not by themselves form a majority of the Syndicate, and their views can prevail only on account of their moral influence, *i.e.*, because the matters having reference to their branches of study are technical and they have expert knowledge of them. If then these men have after all to depend not on their numbers but on their moral influence, where is the special advantage in giving the Professorial element half the number of seats by the Statute ?

Gokhale's Reply

Replying to the debate on his amendment, Gokhale spoke as follows :

My Lord, I desire to make a brief reply. The Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill says that the provisions to which I take exception have been introduced at the instance of an overwhelming body of educational experts. That is precisely my complaint. I think that the Hon'ble Member has listened somewhat too readily to the tale of grievances that has been poured into his willing ears by many so-called experts. The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler prophesies that unless some such provision as that which has been introduced here is passed, the present state of things would, in the course of a few years, reappear. How little faith has he in this Bill that is to make the Senate a truly academic body ! The Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh spoke of only three members out of the Syndicate in Bombay being this year members of the teaching profession. I have noted that, but I may mention that the elections have taken place this year under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances. There is at the present moment a feeling of

considerable exasperation against educational experts, and naturally in the present state of feeling you cannot expect a large body of these men to be elected to the Syndicate by those who think that the experts are largely responsible for voting away the life of the existing Senates.

As regards the argument that the Syndicate will have now to arrange for a regular inspection of Colleges, I have stated in my Minute of Dissent, and I repeat, that we have not got the men here to undertake such inspection. If Government would import from time to time men like Professor Ramsay, I would have no objection, but to allow the Professors of one College to go and inspect another College, is, I respectfully submit, a very objectionable procedure. I submit therefore that this very power of inspection requires that the Professors in the Syndicate — who can represent only a few Colleges — should not be in a position to do as they please in the matter.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Professors' Tenure of Office

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on Monday, 21st *March* 1904, *Gokhale moved the following amendment, viz.*

that in clause 21, sub-clause (*1*), head (*b*), the words " and the conditions governing their tenure of office " be omitted.

He said : Clause 21 lays down the conditions which a College applying for affiliation has got to fulfil. Among those conditions is a condition about the teaching staff. It is to the effect that the College should satisfy the Syndicate about the qualifications of the teaching staff, and further that the Syndicate should also be satisfied about the conditions governing the tenure of office of these teachers. It is to this latter provision that I take exception. I submit, my Lord, that when the Syndicate is satisfied about the qualifications of the men who are going to work in a College, the terms on which the services of the men have been secured by the College is really no concern of the Syndicate. There are Colleges which would object to disclosing the conditions under which their teachers work to any outside body; my own College, for instance, would object to a demand for information on this point; so would, I think, the Jesuits.

In the case of the London University I find that the University requires that the qualifications of the teachers should be satisfactory, but there is nothing said about the conditions governing their tenure of office. I therefore propose this amendment.

[The amendment was put and negatived.]

Students' Residencies

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved :

that in clause 21, sub-clause (*1*), head (*c*), between the words " will be made " and the words " in conformity with the regulations " the words " within a reasonable time after affiliation has been granted " be inserted.

In moving the amendment, he said : This amendment refers to sub-clause (*c*), which lays down among other things that the College will have to satisfy the Syndicate that proper provision will be made for the residence in the College or in lodgings approved by the College of students not residing with their parents or guardians. Now, while I entirely agree that a College which fails to make this provision neglects an important duty, I think that it should be allowed a reasonable margin of time after affiliation for making this provision. My Lord, in a country where the people are so poor as they are with us, private enterprise in the field of education is hampered by a number of difficulties. In the case of my own College, with all the sympathy that we received from the Princes and people of our Presidency, it took us ten years of incessant effort after affiliation to bring up our equipment to its present standard. In the case of other Colleges the difficulties might be even greater. I trust, therefore, that my amendment will be accepted, so as to remove all reasonable ground for complaint.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Quarters for Principal and Professors

At the same meeting Gokhale moved the following amendment :

that in clause 21, sub-clause (*1*), head (*f*), between the words " be made" and the words " for the residence of the Head of the College " the words " within a reasonable time after affiliation has been granted " be inserted.

In making the motion, he spoke as follows : My reasons for this amendment are the same as for the previous one. I think the provision to be made for the residence of the Principal of the College and some of the Professors might not be practicable at once, and some time might be allowed. However, I do not wish to say anything after what has fallen from the Hon'ble Member[1] and merely make the motion.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Financial Resources of Colleges

At the same meeting, the following amendment was moved by Gokhale. The amendment ran :

that in clause 21, sub-clause (*1*), head (*g*), for the words " its continued maintenance " the words " its maintenance in an efficient condition " be substituted.

In moving the amendment, he said : This refers to sub-clause (*g*), which lays down that the College seeking affiliation shall have to satisfy the Syndicate that the financial resources of the College are such as to make due

1 Speaking on the earlier amendment, Mr. Raleigh pointed out that the clause as it stood, was " sufficient to secure that reasonable time for which the Hon'ble Member (Gokhale) has pleaded will be granted ". He therefore saw " no necessity for the amendment. "

provision for its continued maintenance. The word that was used in the original Bill was ' permanent '. In the Select Committee it was changed into the word ' continued '. ' Continued maintenance ' might, however, be misinterpreted as well as ' permanent maintenance ', the expression being supposed to imply that the College should have resources, other than current, of a character to ensure its continued existence. It must be remembered that the provisions of these sub-clauses, though they apply in the first instance to new Colleges seeking affiliation, have been made applicable by a subsequent clause to existing Colleges. Thus, the Syndicate may at any time call upon any affiliated College to satisfy it as to what its resources are and the Syndicate might say that, though they were sufficient to enable the College to maintain itself in an efficient condition while they lasted, there was no guarantee that they would always last, and therefore there was no guarantee of the continued maintenance of the College. I submit that all that the Syndicate has really to concern itself with is to see that the College is able to maintain itself in an efficient condition, and I therefore move that the words ' its maintenance in an efficient condition ' should be substituted for the words ' its continued maintenance. '

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Changes in Teaching Staff

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved :

> that in clause 21, sub-clause (*1*), the sentence beginning " The application shall further contain " be omitted.

While moving the amendment, he spoke as follows : These words were not in the original Bill; they were added in Select Committee. They are to the following effect :

> The application shall further contain an assurance that after the College is affiliated any transference of management and all changes in the teaching staff shall be forthwith reported to the Syndicate.

Now I have no objection to a College being called upon to report any transference of management; but in regard to changes in the teaching staff, well, I really think that a provision of that kind might at times be very irritating. If they are permanent changes I do not object to a College being called upon to report, but even temporary changes are included within the scope of this sub-clause, and to that I have a strong objection.

Gokhale's Reply

Replying to the criticisms of his amendment, Gokhale said : In deference to what fell from your Excellency on Saturday last[1], I have, I hope, been exercising the right of reply more sparingly today, but I cannot allow the

[1] The reference is to the following observations made by Lord Curzon, who presided over the meeting :

(*Continued on p.* 49)

remarks of the Hon'ble Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya[1] to pass without a reply. I may point out that much of what this unlettered sub-clause contains is really provided for in other ways. For instance, one of the conditions laid down in clause 21 is that the College should be under a regularly constituted governing body, and that the Syndicate should be satisfied about the qualifications of the teaching staff and the conditions governing their tenure of office. And the Syndicate is empowered to call for reports from time to time on these points from a College. The Syndicate therefore really possess all the power that is needed. This assurance binds nobody : there is no penalty attaching to its non-fulfilment, and it is, moreover, a perfectly unnecessary assurance. I have already stated that in regard to the transference of management I have no objection and my Hon'ble friend need not have elaborated that point at all; but in regard to changes in the teaching staff — especially temporary changes — I must say that great inconvenience must arise in practice. I think those who have any experience of the working of a College will realize that at once. I therefore think that this sub-clause should be omitted.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Direct Affiliation by Government Opposed

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved an amendment which was as follows :

that in clause 21, sub-clause (2), for the words " record their opinion on the matter " the words " pass such order as they deem proper : Provided that if the order is for granting the application, the previous sanction of the Government shall be necessary before the order becomes effective " be substituted.

(*Continued from p.* 48

I think some Hon'ble Members have been disposed to take advantage with almost undue liberality of the privilege of reply. I have not one word to say about the most reasonable brevity which they have observed in making their speeches or motions. But, as regards reply, of course if an Hon'ble Member is to consider it his duty to answer every objection that has been raised by every Hon'ble Member round the table, the discussion may go on for ever. Our rules admit of the privilege of reply, and therefore, I do not presume to regard it as irregular; but I may say that I have never seen the prerogative of reply interpreted in any assembly with the exceeding liberality that is done here. I sat in the House of Commons for twelve years, and I can say that such a thing would never have been permitted there; indeed, the privilege of reply is only conceded to a mover on rare occasions, and, so far from a member thinking it his duty to reply to every objection, his attitude is that the majority of them are not worth answering at all. I wish that Hob'ble members here could see their way to adopting that position to a rather greater extent than they do now.

[1] Dr. Asutosh Mukhopadhyaya opposed Gokhale's amendment on the ground that his " conception of affiliation " was that it is a continuing and subsisting relation between the University and the College, and every safeguard ought to be provided for the practical achievement of this conception.

In moving the amendment, he said : I beg first to point out that amendments 81, 83[1] and 86[2] all hang together. They are practically three parts of one and the same amendment. And I had given notice of them all as one amendment. I hope, therefore, that your Lordship will allow me to speak to these three amendments taken together.

The three amendments of which I have spoken refer to the power which the Government have expressly taken to themselves under this Bill to make affiliation a direct act of their own. Under the old law the matter is governed by regulations which have received the sanction of Government. These regulations leave affiliation, in all Universities, to be granted by the Syndicate or Senate, with the previous sanction of Government. This is reasonable and this is all that is really necessary. The present Bill, however, goes much beyond that and lays down that the Syndicate and the Senate are merely to report and the Government are to pass final orders on an application for affiliation, and they may override even the unanimous opinion of the Syndicate and the Senate, and either grant or withhold affiliation. My Lord, no case has been made out for thus reducing the Syndicate and the Senate to a position so devoid of dignity or importance, and I therefore move the amendment standing in my name.

Gokhale's Reply

In his reply to the debate on the amendment, Gokhale said :

I will say just one word in reply to the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh. If it is inconceivable that the Government will exercise this power as against the unanimous wishes of the Syndicate and Senate, then there is no reason whatsoever why the Government should take this power. I think the new Senate and Syndicate are entitled to at least as much confidence and as much consideration at the hands of Government as the old bodies, and the provisions as they stand in the Bill are quite derogatory to them.

As regards what the Hon'ble Mr. Morison said, well, my idea of a Senate is different from his. If affiliation and disaffiliation are to be direct acts of an outside authority exercised independently of the wishes of the Senate and the Syndicate, I do not think there is much dignity or independence left to such a University.

[On a division, 4 voted for and 18 against the amendment. So the motion was negatived.]

[1] That in clause 21, sub-clause (*3*), be omitted, the following sub-clauses being re-numbered accordingly.

[2] That in clause 21, sub-clause (*4*), for the word " Government " the word "Senate " be substituted.

College Inspection by Syndicate

At the same meeting Gokhale moved :

that in clause 23, sub-clause (*2*), for the word " shall " the word " may " be substituted, and after the words " in this behalf " the following be added, namely : " whenever the Syndicate has reason to think that the efficiency of the College has fallen below a reasonable standard. "

He said : My Lord, this amendment refers to the clause which provides for the inspection of colleges by the Syndicate. The clause as it is worded here reads thus :

(2) The syndicate shall cause every such College to be inspected from time to time by one or more competent persons authorised by the Syndicate in this behalf.

Now, my Lord, in theory I have no objection to the inspection of Colleges. It also looks very nice on paper. As a matter of fact, however, in practice there will be very great difficulties in carrying these provisions out. My Lord, we have not got the men in this country to go and inspect the quality of teaching imparted in the different Colleges. It may be argued that the inspection was not intended to have reference especially to the quality of the teaching; but the recent Resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education makes special mention of the quality of teaching as one of the points on which inspection is to take place; and if that be so, my Lord, I submit that one of two things will happen; either men who are not qualified to go and inspect Colleges — to inspect the quality of teaching imparted in Colleges —will go and do this work, or else this provision will remain a dead letter. In either case it is undesirable that the provision should find a place in this Bill. In colleges the men who teach are supposed to be specialists. How can one man, even if he were a most distinguished one, pronounce on the quality of the teaching of a number of specialists ? If you want to send a separate expert for testing the College teaching in regard to separate subjects, you will have to send as many experts as there are subjects. This inspection, again, is bound to be a source of much difficulty and irritation in practice. There are some men in some Colleges who are on a much higher level than corresponding men in other Colleges, and if any of the latter are selected to inspect the work of any of the former, the inspection is likely to be resented.

My Hon'ble friend Mr. Morison, speaking to a previous amendment of mine, said that the impartiality of members of the Syndicate has very often been questioned, and therefore it is not desirable that questions affecting the starting of rival Colleges should be left to the Syndicate. Well, that same argument applies to this case. If members of the Syndicate undertake the inspection duty, it will in practice mean the inspection of one College by a Professor in another. If you had University Professors then it would be a different thing. Then those Professors could have gone about and done the work of inspection. In their absence you will have to draw the inspecting officers from among the

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men belonging to the Colleges, and this, as I have pointed out, is likely to prove very unsatisfactory. I think there is only one case in which inspection should be provided for, and that is where the Syndicate has reasons to think, from the periodical reports received or from the results of examinations, that the College has allowed its efficiency to sink below a reasonable standard. In that case there would be no indignity in a member of any College going to inspect such a College.

Gokhale's Reply

In his reply to the debate, Gokhale said:

I beg leave to say just one word in reply to what the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh has said. He practically leaves the difficulty of the question untouched. He says that this question, how the inspection should be exercised, should be left to the different Universities to decide. That does not carry us very far. Of course, he offers himself to go and inspect Colleges, if appointed to do so; but I do not think there are many men of his type available; so even that is not a practical suggestion.

As regards what the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler says, it must be remembered that under this Bill the Syndicate will be empowered to call for periodical reports from Colleges on such points as it deems proper and I myself am willing that where a College has sunk below a certain standard, inspection should be enforced, but in all other cases the inspection will be only nominal or else it will be necessarily irritating.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Power of Disaffiliation Should Rest with Syndicate

At the same meeting Gokhale moved :

that in clause 24, sub-clause (*3*), after the words " shall make a report to the Senate " the words " if, in their opinion, the rights conferred on the College by the affiliation should be withdrawn " be added.

In doing so, he said : When a proposal to disaffiliate a College comes before the Syndicate, the Syndicate may come to the conclusion that disaffiliation was not at all necessary. If the Syndicate takes this view, then the Senate should not be troubled in the matter, and the question should not go up to Government at all. The argument just now urged by the Hon'ble Mr. Raleigh appears to me to be somewhat extraordinary. He would set one member of the Syndicate above all the other members. If one member proposed disaffiliation and the others are all against it, Mr. Raleigh would wish that the Government should express an opinion. Now, my Lord, look at the number of safeguards that already exist. First of all, eighty per cent of the Senate are to be nominated by Government, and these are to elect the Syndicate, and in this Syndicate half the number of seats are by statute reserved for Professors. If in these circumstances the Syndicate is not to be allowed to decide whether

a motion for disaffiliation should or should not go to the Senate and the Government, I submit that the syndicate has no real authority conferred on it.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Government Interference Disfavoured

At the same meeting, Gokhale proposed an amendment which was as follows :

that in clause 24, sub-clause (*4*) for the words " record their opinion on the matter " the words " pass such order as they deem proper : Provided that, if the order is for disaffiliation, the previous sanction of the Government shall be required before it become effective" be substituted.

In making the motion he said :

My amendment is practically the same in substance as the existing regulations of the different Universities on the subject of disaffiliation. My Lord, I submit that where the Syndicate or the Senate, or the Senate acting on a recommendation of the Syndicate, comes to the conclusion that there is no need for disaffiliation, the matter should not go to Government. If disaffiliation is resolved upon, of course the previous sanction of the Government should be necessary, and that is the present practice. No case has been made out for a larger measure of Government interference and control than this. On the other hand, the new constitution of both the Senate and the Syndicate is a powerful argument against the course proposed.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

New Body of Regulations

At the same meeting Gokhale moved:

that in clause 26, sub-clause (*1*), head (*b*) be omitted.

He said : This clause reads as follows :

26 (*1*) Within one year after the commencement of this Act or within such further period as the Government may fix in this behalf ,—

(*a*) the Senate as constituted under this Act shall cause a revised body of regulations to be prepared and submitted for the sanction of the Government;

(*b*) if any additions to, or alterations in, the draft submitted appear to the Government to be necessary, the Government, after consulting the Senate, may sanction the proposed body of regulations, with such additions and alterations as appear to the Government to be necessary.

The clause refers to the new body of regulations that have to be framed by the Senate. I admit that the provision is only of a temporary character, and the power that the Government would exercise under this clause would be confined to the first body of regulations and would not apply to any subsequent regulations that may be framed afterwards; but all important regulations will be included in the first body, and therefore there is not much comfort in the fact that subsequent regulations will be free from such interference on the part of Government. My Lord, I submit that a University ought to be left in a matter of this kind to determine what regulations it requires, and the

Government should be content to have the power of sanctioning or vetoing them. This is not a matter like affiliation or disaffiliation where it may be urged that, owing to the rivalries and jealousies of different Colleges, it is necessary for the Government to keep in their own hands the power of both initiation and control. The members of the new Senates will–at least ninety per cent of them–be appointed because of their fitness to be members of an academic body. Surely these men ought to be trusted to frame proper regulations. We have been told again and again that the Universities at present do not attach sufficient value to the opinion of experts. Well, the Government in their turn do not err on the side of trusting the experts too much either. After all, how little is the risk in leaving this matter to the Senate ? The men are nominated by Government, and it is in the last degree unlikely that they would in any way set themselves in opposition to the wishes of Government in any important matter. Moreover, who is better qualified to advise the Government in these matters than a Senate composed of men appointed to be Fellows because of their being educational experts? I think, therefore, that head (*b*) of sub-clause (*1*) of clause 26 should be omitted.

[On a division, 8 voted for the amendment and 14 against it. So the motion was negatived.]

Opposition to Bishops as ex officio Fellows

At the same meeting, Gokhale moved.

that in the first schedule, the words " The Lord Bishop of Calcutta ", " The Bishop of Bombay ", " The Bishop of Madras ", " The Bishop of Lahore " and " The Bishop of Lucknow ", be omitted.

He said : My Lord, taking the case of Bombay, I find there are five *ex officio* Fellows included in the schedule, and they are the two Ordinary Members of the Governor's Council, the Chief Justice, the Director of Public Instruction and the Lord Bishop of Bombay. Of these, the Ordinary Members of the Governor's Council are there, because they with the Governor make up the Local Government, and as he is *ex officio* Chancellor they are *ex officio* Fellows, and I have no objection to that. Similarly, the Chief Justice, as the highest Judicial authority in the Province, may be regarded as the head of the Faculty of Law, though he may be the nominal head. Also as the Director of Public Instruction is the highest educational officer of Government, one can understand why he is an *ex officio* Fellow. But the inclusion of the Lord Bishop's name in the list I do not understand. He is no doubt the head of the English Church, but that Church has nothing to do with our Universities. Had a new Faculty — the Faculty of Theology — been added to the existing Faculties, as was proposed by some, the Lord Bishop might have been regarded as the head of that Faculty. But in its absence and with the avowed policy of Government of religious neutrality in educational matters, I do not see why the Lord Bishop should be an *ex officio* Fellow. I therefore move the amendment standing in my name.

[The motion was put and negatived.]

Unmerited Condemnation of Educated Classes

At an adjourned meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on monday, the 21st *March* 1904, *Mr. T. Raleigh moved that the Indian Universities Bill, as amended, be passed. Gokhale spoke as follows on the motion :*

My Lord, the struggle is over. The opponents of the Bill have lost all along the line; and it only remains for them now to count up their losses; for gains they have had none. Let those who will, say what they will; this Bill amounts to an emphatic condemnation, as unmerited as it was unnecessary, of the educated classes of this country. It amounts to a formal declaration on the part of the Government of India, made with the concurrence of the Legislative Council, that the system of University education which has been in vogue in this country for the last fifty years has been a failure, and that the men educated under that system have proved themselves unworthy of being associated, in any appreciable degree, with the administration of their own Universities. My Lord, I feel that my educated countrymen have a right to complain that this condemnation has been passed on them without giving them a fair hearing. I do not, of course, refer to the hearing which has been given to the opponents of this measure in this Council — for I gladly acknowledge the unfailing courtesy and patience with which the Hon'ble Member in charge has conducted the Bill through the Council — but I refer to the fact that the Government of India decided to make these drastic changes on the one-sided representations of men who considered that because they were engaged in the actual work of teaching, therefore they were entitled to a virtual monopoly of power in the Universities.

Five years ago, when your Lordship first announced that the Government of India intended taking up the question of University reform, the announcement was hailed with satisfaction and even with enthusiasm all over the country. Last year, speaking on the occasion of the Budget debate, your Lordship wondered how it was that the appetite of the educated classes for University reform, at one time so keen, had suddenly died down. My Lord, the explanation of the phenomenon lies on the surface. Five years ago, when this question was first taken up, your Lordship defined your attitude towards University reform in a speech made as Chancellor of the Calcutta University at the Convocation of 1899. In that speech, after pointing out the difference between a teaching University and an examining University, your Lordship proceeded to observe as follows :

> Nevertheless, inevitable and obvious as these differences are, there may yet be in an examining University — there is in such institutions in some parts of my own country and still more abroad — an inherent influence inseparable from the curriculum through which the student has had to pass before he can take his degree, which is not without its effect upon character and morals, which inspires in him something more than a hungry appetite for a diploma, and which turns him out something better than a sort of phonographic automaton into which have been spoken the

ideas and thoughts of other men. I ask myself, may such things be said with any truth of the examining Universities of India? I know at first sight that it may appear that I shall be met with an overwhelming chorus of denial. I shall be told, for I read it in many newspapers and in the speeches of public men, that our system of higher education in India is a failure, that it has sacrificed the formation of character upon the altar of cram, and that Indian Universities turn out only a discontented horde of office-seekers, whom we have educated for places which are not in existence for them to fill. Gentlemen, may I venture to suggest to you that one defect of the Anglo-Saxon character is that it is apt to be a little loud both in self-praise and in self-condemnation? When we are contemplating our virtues, we sometimes annoy other people by the almost pharisaical complacency of our transports; but, equally, I think, when we are diagnosing our faults, are we apt almost to revel in the superior quality of our transgressions. There is, in fact, a certain cant of self-depreciation as well as of self-laudation. I say to myself, therefore, in the first place, is it possible, is it likely, that we have been for years teaching hundreds and thousands of young men, even if the immediate object be the passing of an examination or the winning of a degree, a literature which contains invaluable lessons for life, and science which is founded upon the reverent contemplation of nature and her truths, without leaving permanent impress upon the moral as well as the intellectual being of many who have passed through this course ? I then proceed to ask the able officials by whom I am surrounded, and whose assistance makes the labour of the Viceroy of India relaxation rather than toil, whether they have observed any reflection of this beneficence in the quality and character of the young men who enter the ranks of what is now known as the provincial service; and when I hear from them almost without dissent that there has been a marked upward trend in the honesty, the integrity, and the capacity of native officials in those departments of Government, then I decline altogether to dissociate cause from effect. I say that knowledge has not been altogether shamed by her children, grave as the defects of our system may be, and room though there may be for reform. I refuse to join in a wholesale condemnation which is as extravagant as it is unjust.

Unjust Condemnation

My Lord, the generous warmth of this most sympathetic utterance at once kindled throughout the country a great hope, and for a time it was thought that we were on the eve of a mighty reform which would change the whole face of things in regard to higher education in India. A liberal provision of funds for the encouragement of original research and of higher teaching, the institution of an adequate number of substantial scholarships to enable our most gifted young men to devote themselves to advanced studies, an improvement in the status and mode of recruitment of the Educational Service so as to attract

to it the best men available, both European and Indian, the simplification of the preliminary tests, with a single stiff examination at the end of the course for ordinary students so as to discourage cramming as far as possible — these and other measures of reform appeared to be almost within sight. It was, however, not long before the new-born hope that had thus gladdened our hearts, was chilled to death, and we found that, instead of the measures we were looking for, we were to have only a perpetuation of the narrow, bigoted and inexpansive rule of experts.

Experts vs. *Laymen*

My Lord, it has been too freely assumed in the course of the discussions over this Bill that all experts as a body are necessarily in favour of particular changes, and that laymen, on the other hand, as a class, are opposed to them. When the new regime is inaugurated, it will soon be discovered that it is a great mistake to think so. It is a matter of general experience that greatest opposition to change has generally come from some of the experts themselves — the older men among the experts, who rarely regard with a friendly eye any proposal to make a departure from the order of things to which they have been long accustomed. The younger experts, on the other hand, always imagine that, unless changes of a radical character are introduced so as to reproduce, in however faint a manner, the condition of things with which they were familiar at their own University, the education that is given is not worth imparting. And as the older experts have naturally more influence, their opposition generally prevails, and in course of time the appetite of the younger men for reform gradually disappears. However, my Lord, I am sure the Council is quite weary now of listening to any more arguments about the rule of experts or any other features of the Bill, important or unimportant. Moreover, I have already twice spoken on the general character of the Bill.

Influence of Great Professors

And I will therefore now proceed to one or two points only, that arise out of this discussion, before I bring my remarks to a close. My Lord, it is to my mind a painful and significant circumstance that the present condemnation of the educated classes has been passed at the instance of men engaged in the work of education. I am astonished that these men do not realize that a part at least of this condemnation is bound to recoil on their own heads. The Hon'ble Mr. Pedler has told the Council of dishonest clerks, unscrupulous managers of Colleges, and convict Graduates. I do hope, for the Hon'ble Member's own sake as much as for the credit of the educated classes. that there has been another and a brighter side to his experience. Else, my Lord, what a sad sense of failure he must carry with him into his retirement ! Happily all educationists have not been so unfortunate in their experience nor, if I may say so, so one-sided in their judgments. There have been men among them who have regarded the affection and reverence of their pupils as their most valued

possession, who have looked upon the educated classes with a feeling of pride, and who have always stood up for them whenever anyone has ventured to assail them. One such Professor, within my experience, was Dr. Wordsworth, grandson of the great poet — a man honoured and beloved as few Englishmen have been on our side. Another such man is Mr. Selby, whose approaching retirement will inflict a most severe loss on the Education Department of our Presidency. My Lord, I am aware that it is invidious to mention names; but these two men have exercised such abiding influence over successive generations of students during their time that I feel no hesitation in offering a special tribute of recognition and gratitude to them. Their hold over the minds of their pupils has been due, not only to their intellectual attainments, but also to their deep sympathy with them as a class which they had helped specially to create. I believe that such men have never had occasion to complain that their views on any subject did not receive at the hands of educated Indians the consideration that was due to them. It is through such men that some of England's best work in India is done; it is these men who present to the Indian mind the best side of English character and English culture. It is such men that are principally wanted for work of higher education in India in the present state of things, and the best interests of both the rulers and the ruled may safely be entrusted to their keeping. I think, my Lord, there is practically no limit to the influence which a truly great Professor who adds to his intellectual attainments sympathy and love for his pupils may exercise over the minds of Indian students, whose natural attitude towards a teacher, inherited through a long course of centuries, is one of profound reverence.

The recent Resolution of the Government of India on the subject of education strikes the right note when it says: ' Where the problems to be solved are so complex, and the interests at stake so momentous, India is entitled to ask for the highest intellect and culture that either English or Indian seats of learning can furnish for her needs. ' If the principle enunciated in this sentence be faithfully acted upon, it will go a long way to counteract the evil which is apprehended from the passage of this Bill. How far, however, this will be done, remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the old order will change, yielding place to new. My Lord, one cannot contemplate without deep emotion the disappearance of this old order; for with all its faults, it had obtained a strong hold on our attachment and our reverence, and round it had sprung up some of our most cherished aspirations. For the present, however, the hands of the clock have been put back; and though this by itself cannot stop the progress of the clock while the spring continues wound and the pendulum swings, there can be no doubt that the work done today in this Council Chamber will be regarded with sorrow all over the country for a long time to come.

UNIVERSITIES VALIDATION ACT

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on Friday, the 3rd February 1905, *Mr. Richards moved for leave to introduce a Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act* 1904. *In opposing the motion, Gokhale made the following speech :*

Bill's Copy not Supplied

My Lord, I beg to oppose this motion. It was only last night that I received the agenda paper of this meeting and then I saw that it was proposed to introduce a measure of this kind at today's Council. There was, however, no copy of the Bill with the agenda paper — there is no copy even now before me on the table — so I was entirely in the dark until I heard the speech of the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill about the precise nature and scope of the proposed legislation. Now, my Lord, I respectfully submit that this is somewhat hard on Members of this Council. For I find myself compelled, if I want to enter my protest at all, to speak just on the spur of the moment, without any opportunity to look up facts and references, relying solely on my mere recollection of things. My Lord, I was one of those who did their utmost last year to prevent the passage of the Universities Bill. But having done that, as soon as the Bill was passed, I was among those who recognised the wisdom of the appeal so earnestly made by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to both friends and opponents of the measure that they should after that bury their differences and in the best interests of higher education endeavour to co-operate with one another to make the Act a success. I should therefore have been glad if there had been no occasion for me to oppose any further the proposals of Government in regard to the Universities of India. But as the Government have thought fit to introduce the present measure, and as I disapprove of it most strongly,there is no course open to me but to offer it such resistance as I can.

Chancellors' Notifications Illegal and Ultra Vires

My Lord, I interpret the Hon'ble Member's speech as a practical admission that the notifications which the Chancellors in the different Provinces have issued are illegal and *ultra vires* and that the action taken under them cannot be sustained. For, if there had been the faintest possibility of the notifications being upheld by the High Courts, the Government, I am sure, would not have taken this unpleasant and not wholly dignified course of coming to the Legislature to validate what they have done. Now, my Lord, one might easily ask the question how such illegal notifications came to be issued, for, with the resources at the disposal of the various Governments in the matter of expert legal advice and in other ways, the public have a right, even in this country, to expect work less careless than that. But when a mistake has been admitted, in public life as in private life the less one dwells on it the better.

But though I do not care to press the question how these notifications came to be issued, I must protest emphatically against the course proposed to be adopted to set right the illegality that has been committed. I think, my Lord, the only proper course for the Supreme Government on this occasion would have been to call upon the various Chancellors to withdraw these objectionable notifications and substitute others in their place more in accordance with the law. Instead of following this plain course, the Government have chosen to come to the Legislature with proposals to remedy, not any defect in the law, but a serious illegality committed in taking action under the law, and persisted in, in spite of warnings and protests. My Lord, in all civilised countries there is a well-understood and well-defined distinction between the Legisalture and the executive Government, and the Legislature is regarded as higher than the executive. In India unfortunately this distinction for the most part is of only a nominal character; for, with the present constitution of the Councils, the Executive Government can get what law they please passed by the Legislature without the slightest difficulty. I submit, however, that it is not desirable, it is not wise, that this fact should be forced on the attention of the public in so unpleasant a manner as on this occasion, and I think this discussion becomes a farce if our Legislature is to be thus at the beck and call of the Executive Government, and if it is to be called upon to exercise its powers of legislation to remedy defects, not in existing laws, but in executive action taken under those laws.

Bill Lowering Legislature's Dignity

My Lord, I respectfully, but emphatically, protest against this lowering of the dignity of the Legislature. Of course there is nothing to prevent the Government legally from coming to the Legislature with such proposals as they please. But I venture to think that there are moral limits on the competency of the Government in this matter. I think that the Government should come forward with proposals of amendment only in the event of the existing law being found so defective as to be unworkable, errors in executive action being set right as far as possible by executive action alone. I can imagine a case where, soon after passing a measure, the Government suddenly discover a flaw which makes it impossible to carry the measure into practice. In such a case, however one may regret the necessity of amending legislation, one would be prepared to regard the position of Government with a certain amount of sympathy. But that is not the case on the present occasion. It is not contended that no executive remedy is possible to set matters right, for, by withdrawing the present notifications and substituting others in accordance with law, the whole difficulty can be got over. The Hon'ble Member has told us that this would involve much loss of precious time and of valuable work already in process of being done. Surely this is not such a calamity as to justify the present proposals. It is true that those who get into power for the first time often imagine that they must begin their reforming work at once, and that the situation cannot brook a

moment's delay. Everyone will not, however, necessarily sympathise with such impatience, and some may even welcome circumstances which necessitate their going more slowly. As regards the fear that in some places examinations will have to be postponed unless the election of the present Syndicates is validated, even that need not frighten us much, as examinations have been postponed in the past on account of plague and other difficulties, and there is no great harm if they have to be postponed for a time in any place this year.

The Hon'ble Member has further told us that after all the defects that have been discovered in the notifications are of a purely technical character. Now I cannot subscribe to this view of the matter at all. Take, for instance, the formation of the Faculties. If this function had been left to the Senates as required by the law — if it had not been illegally usurped by the Chancellors — we should have had the Faculties formed in accordance with some clear and intelligible principle as in old times. But in what the Chancellors have done there is no such clear principle recognisable. Thus, in Bombay, a man like Mr. Justice Chandavarkar,[1] than whom there are few more cultured Fellows — European or Indian — in the Bombay Senate, has been excluded from the Arts Faculty which after all is the most important Faculty, and relegated to the Faculty of Law, which is made to include every Fellow who has taken the LL. B. degree. So it is not only a mere setting right of technical defects that is involved in this Bill.

Condoning Illegality

My Lord, there is another most important question that must be brought to the notice of this Council. I am not sure that I quite followed the Hon'ble Member in what he said about the effect of this Bill on the Syndicates which have been elected under the illegal notifications. I understood him to say, and I speak subject to correction, that the elections would stand. If this be so, I can only protest against what is proposed as a great wrong, at least so far as the Bombay University is concerned, for there the opinion of eminent Counsel had been obtained, which declared that the notification was clearly illegal and *ultra vires*. This opinion had been forwarded to the University authorities before the elections were held, and the only request that was made was that the elections should be postponed till the Chancellor had re-considered the whole question in the light of that opinion. An opportunity was thus given to the party that is anxious to introduce the new order of things to set matters right by cancelling the notification and issuing another in its place. Instead of that, they preferred to hold the elections in accordance with the notifica-

[1] Sir N. G. CHANDAVARKAR (1855-1923); editor, *Indu Prakash* (1878-98); attended the first Congress and was a member of the Congress deputation to England (1885); President, Indian National Congress (1900); Judge, Bombay High Court (1901); and Chief Justice (1909); first President, Bombay Legislative Assembly constituted under the Montford reforms; Vice-chancellor, Bombay University (1909); Dewan, Indore State (1914).

tion, and now it is proposed to condone the illegality committed with open eyes by means of fresh legislation ! My Lord, the unfairness of this arrangement becomes all the more obvious when it is remembered that those who saw the illegality of the notification did not take part in the election beyond entering their protest. They did not allow themselves to be nominated as candidates : neither did they exercise their undoubted right to vote because of the illegal character of the whole proceeding. On the other hand, those who chose to act on the notification acted as though they were determined to carry out their object, whatever the obstacles in their way. Thus a motion for adjournment, which the Vice-Chancellor, who presided over the Arts meeting, allowed to be put to the meeting one day, was under exactly similar circumstances ruled out of order the next day at the Law meeting by the Judicial Member of the Executive Government, whose interest in University matters was suddenly aroused, and who attended to take the chair — which otherwise would have been occupied by the senior Fellow present, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta.[1]

And it is now proposed to support by fresh legislation the illegalities committed in this high-handed manner by those who chose to ignore the warning and opinion of eminent Counsel, and it is proposed to punish those who protested against the illegalities and refrained from being a party to them. I think it is absolutely unjustifiable thus to disfranchise a large number of Fellows and accept the elections made by a handful of men in each group as made by the Faculties, and once more I protest emphatically against the contemplated wrong.

My lord, these are some of the obeservations which suggest themselves to me on this occasion. I have been under some disadvantage in having had to speak on the spur of the moment, and I can only trust I have made no mistake in my statement of facts, nor employed stronger language than the exigencies of the situation demanded.

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on Friday, the 10*th February* 1905, *Mr. H. Erle Richards moved that the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act*, 1904, *be taken into consideration. To this motion Gokhale proposed the following amendment :*

that for the words " the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act, 1904; be taken into consideration," in the foregoing motion, the words, "the consideration of the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act 1904; be postponed *sine die*," be substituted.

In support of the amendment, Gokhale made the following speech :

My Lord, last Friday, when I troubled the Council with a few observations on the Bill now before us, I ventured to suggest that the introduction of this

[1] Sir PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA (1845-1915); member, Bombay Municipal Corporation and four times its President (1884, 1885, 1905 and 1911); a founder-member of the Indian National Congress (1885); one of the founders of the Bombay Presidency Association (1885); member, Bombay Legislative Council (1892); member, Imperial Legislative Council (1893-1902); President, Indian National Congress (1890); Vice-chancellor, Bombay University (1915).

measure and the Hon'ble Member's speech in support of it amounted to a practical admission that the notifications issued by the several Chancellors were illegal and *ultra vires*. The Hon'ble Member, however, took exception to my remark, and that makes it necessary that the Council should consider briefly the circumstances connected with these notifications and the position now created by them. For this purpose I would invite the attention of the Council to what has taken place at Calcutta and Bombay, and I take these two Universities, partly because it has been easier for me to obtain precise information in regard to them than in regard to the others during the short time at my disposal, but mainly because the circumstances of the Calcutta University are, or ought to be, within the personal knowledge of several Members of this Council, and at Bombay matters have culminated in a suit being instituted in the High Court. My Lord, I have no wish today to stir up the ashes of the controversy that raged round the Universities Bill last year though one may say in passing that some of the fears then expressed by the opponents of the measure about the probable exclusion of independent Indians from the administration of the Universities are already being more or less realized. What, for instance, can be more lamentable than that, on the present Syndicate of the Calcutta University, four Faculties out of five should be without a single Indian representative, and that in Bombay, a man like Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, once a Dean in Arts, who, in point of attainments and of zealous devotion to the best interests of the country, towers head and shoulders above many of those who have of late been posing as authorities on high education in this land, should be excluded from the Faculty of Arts! However, I know that any further complaint in this Council about the policy of last year's Bill is like ploughing the sands of the sea-shore, and I have no wish to engage in an enterprise at once so fruitless and so unnecessary.

My Lord, I must ask the Council to glance for a while at what may be called the scheme of last year's Act in regard to the constitution of the first Senates and of Provisional Syndicates. That scheme, I contend, is both clear and adequate, and if only ordinary care had been taken to adhere to it, the present difficulties would not have arisen. The scheme is set forth in the several clauses of section 12. First of all, there was to be the election of ten Fellows by Graduates or by old elected Fellows or by both. Then there was to be the appointment of not more than eighty Fellows by the Chancellor. And then there was to be the election or rather co-optation of ten more Fellows by the elected Fellows and Government nominees acting together. This co-optation was to complete the Senate and then the Chancellor was to notify that the Body Corporate of the University had been formed, appending to the notification a list of the new Senate. As soon as this declaration was made, the old Senate and the old Syndicate were to cease to exist, and the new Senate, *i. e.*, the Body Corporate, was to elect a Provisional Syndicate, in such manner as the Chancellor might direct, the old bye-laws and regulations of the University continuing in force till new ones were framed, except in so far as they were expressly

or by implication superseded or modified. Now two things here are absolutely clear — first, that the election of the Provisional Syndicate is to be by the Senate, *i. e.*, the Body Corporate, and, secondly, whatever discretion might be conferred on the Chancellor by the words ' in such manner as the Chancellor may direct, ' that discretion is limited, first, by the express terms of the Act and, secondly, by such old regulations and bye-laws as have not been superseded or modified.

The Hon'ble Member said last Friday that, unless a very wide meaning was assigned to the words 'in such manner as the Chancellor may direct, ' there would be a difficulty about fixing the number of the Syndicate. I am surprised at the Hon'ble Member's argument, for he forgets that the old regulations prescribe the number, and the Act being silent in the matter, that number must stand. On the other hand, the regulations prescribe election by Faculties, but the Act expressly provides for election by the Senate; therefore the election by Faculties must go. I therefore contend that the scheme of the Act for the constitution of the first Senate and of the Provisional Syndicate is a clear and complete scheme, and the responsibility for the present muddle rests not on those who framed the Act but on those who did not take sufficient care to understand its provisions and exceeded their powers in taking action under it. Indeed, my Lord, I wonder what Sir Thomas Raleigh[1] in his retirement will think of these proceedings in Council and of the justification urged for them, for to my mind they are little less than a reflection on the patient industry and care with which he elaborated the provisions of the Universities Bill; and I think it will strike him as an irony of fate that, while these proceedings should be initiated by those who were among the most enthusiastic supporters of this Bill, it should have been reserved for an uncompromising opponent of the measure to protest against the charge of unsatisfactory work which they involve against him !

Arbitrary Actions of Chancellor

My Lord, I have so far briefly sketched what may be called the scheme of the Act. Let us now see how they have followed this scheme in practice at Bombay and Calcutta. In Bombay the election of ten Fellows by Graduates and by old elected Fellows took place all right. The appointment of eighty Government nominees followed in proper form. Finally, these ninety proceeded to co-opt the remaining ten, sitting and voting together as required by the Act. The Bombay Senate was thus regularly constituted and no one has taken any exception to its constitution. Then came the Chancellor's notification about the election of a Provisional Syndicate, in which he arbitrarily divided the Fellows into groups, which he had no power to do, and directed the several groups to meet and vote separately and on separate days, which also he had no power to do. And when the illegal character of the notification was brought

[1] See foot-note on p. 3.

to his notice and opinions of eminent lawyers in support of this view were forwarded to him, the University authorities persisted in acting on the notification, with the result that the aggrieved party had to move the High Court for redress !

Catalogue of Illegalities

In Calcutta the catalogue of illegalities was even longer. Here the election of ten Fellows by Graduates and by old elected Fellows took place alright and the Chancellor's nominations were also in regular form. From this point, however, commenced a regular series of irregularities. The ten Fellows to be co-opted were not co-opted by the elected and nominated Fellows sitting and voting together as required by the Act. The constitution of the Calcutta Senate itself was thus defective. Then the Chancellor divided the Senate into Faculties for the purpose of electing the Syndicate, which he had no power to do. The old regulations which are still in force recognize only four Faculties, but the Chancellor constituted five Faculties on his own responsibility, which was irregular. Under the old regulations every Fellow, *ex officio* or ordinary, must belong to at least one Faculty; but the Chancellor did not assign the *ex officio* Fellows to any Faculty, which was irregular. Finally, the Provisional Syndicate was elected by the Faculties, instead of by the Senate, as expressly required by the Act, and this was irregular. and now after all these irregularities have been committed, the Government of India come to the Legislature with a proposal to validate all that has been done ! In doing so they ignore the fact that they are interfering with a pending suit, destroying the protection of High Courts which the public prizes above everything else, lowering the dignity of the Legislature, and creating throughout the country a most deplorable impression about the practical irresponsibility of the Executive Government. And yet, when it is said that the action of the Government is a practical admission that the notifications were illegal, the Hon'ble Member thinks it necessary to protest against the inference !

My Lord, I think the matter is pretty clear. In any case, the view that the notifications are illegal and *ultra vires* is supported by three distinguished members of the Bombay Bar — two of them being European Barristers, who have taken no part in recent educational controversies and who occupy the foremost position in their profession at Bombay. Can the Hon'ble Member quote on the other side any authority of equal eminence, of anything like equal eminence, of any eminence at all? Is he prepared to pledge his own reputation as a lawyer to the view that the notifications are legal ? And if he is not, I submit that my inference is a fair inference, and I think I am entitled to draw it. The Hon'ble Member complained last time that I had no alternative course to suggest. This was surely a most extraordinary complaint to make, for in the very next sentence he proceeded to show how my suggestion, namely, that the faulty notifications should be withdrawn and others in accordance with law substituted in their place, would involve waste of time

and work and prove harmful to the interests of the Universities. My Lord, I really think that it is the duty of the Government, not less than that of private individuals, to face whatever inconvenience has to be faced in obeying the law. And the only proper and dignified course for the Government was to have waited till the Bombay High Court had pronounced its judgment, and, if that decision had been adverse to the Government, to have withdrawn the notifications held to be illegal and to have substituted others in their place framed in accordance with the law, a validating Bill being at the same time introduced to legalize the work done during the interval by the defectively constituted bodies. If, on the other hand, the Court had decided in favour of the Government, nothing further need have been done in the matter unless the decision had been reversed by a higher authority.

Executive above Law

The Hon'ble Member drew last time a dismal picture of the results, which a state of uncertainty would produce. That picture, however, need not frighten anybody — at any rate, no one who is acquainted with the inner working of an Indian University. It would not have taken so very long after all to set matters right, and in the interval, the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar could have carried on the ordinary executive business of the University. And whatever temporary inconvenience had resulted should have been borne as inevitable. Instead of this the Government have chosen to adopt a course which is hardly respectful to His Majesty's Judges — intervening by means of legislation in favour of one party to a pending suit — which lowers the dignity of the Legislature, and which proclaims that the executive authority in this country is practically above law. I decline to be a party to such a course, and I therefore beg to move the amendment which stands in my name.

Reply by Gokhale

Replying at the same meeting to criticisms on his amendment, Gokhale made the following speech :

I desire to offer a few observations by way of reply to what has fallen from the Hon'ble Mr. Richards and the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson. The Hon'ble Mr. Richards began by saying that the confusion that has been caused is admitted by everybody, but this Council is not the place where the legality or otherwise of the notifications issued by the Chancellors can be profitably discussed. I am inclined to agree with him, but he will not allow me to discuss it anywhere else. As a matter of fact, my friends have taken the matter to the High Court, which is surely a properly constituted body to discuss the legality or otherwise of what has been done. But the Hon'ble Member will intervene before the High Court has delivered its decision, and he will pass a law which will take the matter out of the jurisdiction of the High Court, so that, if I may say so, the responsibility for the question being raised here is the Hon'ble Member's and not mine.

Then, my Lord, the Hon'ble Member said that the Provisional Syndicate is only a transitory body and therefore so much fuss need not be made over the manner in which it has been constituted. He said, after all, what will the Provisional Syndicate do ? It will attend to the duty of conferring degrees and to a few small details of executive administration. He forgets, however, that the principal work of this Provisional Syndicate will be to draft the regulations which afterwards are to govern the conduct of the business of the University. In Bombay, no matter can be first brought before the Senate until it has been first considered by the Syndicate, and therefore the whole future administration of the University really depends in a measure upon the Provisional Syndicate, and one can easily see how important it is to have it properly constituted.

The Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson has referred to what was in the mind of the Select Committee when these transitory provisions were framed. I, too, was a member of the Select Committee, but I did not refer before this to what took place in the Select Committee, because I understood that a reference to the proceedings of the Select Committee was not allowed, as they are confidential. However, I may very well follow the example of the Hon'ble Member, and I may say this; if my recollection is right, the Select Committee did not intend that the Provisional Syndicate should be constituted as it has been in so many places. As a matter of fact, I remember it being said that the principal work of the Provisional Syndicate would be the drafting of rules and regulations, and for that it would be necessary to have a body of men who had the confidence of the whole Senate, and that was all that was necessary to provide.

The Hon'ble Member proceeded to say that, unless the Chancellor had given certain specific directions, there would have been confusion, as there was conflict between the Act and the old regulations. I think, however, that this fear was groundless. The Act of last year contemplates three authorities being put together before any action is taken. There is, first of all, the Act, which is of course above everything else. After the Act come the regulations, which have not been expressly or impliedly superseded. If there is any conflict between the two, the Act prevails and the regulations go. If there is nothing to bring about a conflict between the two, the regulations supplement the Act. It is only after the Act and after the regulations that the discretion of the Chancellor comes in. The discretion of the Chancellor is to support the regulations and the Act, and not to twist the express language of the Act or of the regulations that are already in force so as to suit his own view of things. If you take these three things together, what do you see? You first of all see that the Act requires that the election shall be by the Senate. Therefore, if the old regulations say that the election should be by Faculties, those regulations are to that extent inoperative. Again, if the old regulations say that the number shall be so and so, the number is not left to the Chancellor. However, I do not wish to elaborate this point any further. The Hon'ble Member said that the Chancellor of Bombay had scrupulously followed the

old regulations in the grouping of the members of the Senate. The Hon'ble Member is entirely mistaken. In old times, where a man held a degree in more Faculties than one, he was appointed a Fellow in all those Faculties. The Chancellor, however, has arbitrarily restricted the members to certain Faculties. For instance, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta holds only an Arts degree, so far as the Bombay University is concerned. He has, however, been relegated to the Law Faculty and removed from the Faculty of Arts. Under the old regulations, this would not have been possible.

I do not think that I need detain the Council further. The defects that you are going to validate are not merely technical, and there is an important principle involved, and I therefore submit that the Bill should not be proceeded with.

[The amendment was put and negatived.]

Speaking at the same meeting, Gokhale said:

When I gave notice of the second amendment standing in my name, viz. *that for the words "the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act*, 1904, *be taken into consideration" in the motion of the Hon'ble Mr. Richards, the words "the consideration of the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act*, 1904, *be postponed till the* 24th *February* 1905; *or to such later date as may be thought proper", be substituted*, the High Court of Bombay had not postponed the suit before it *sine die*, and my object in sending notice of this amendment was to give the High Court an opportunity of pronouncing a judgment before this Bill was passed. As, however, the suit has been postponed *sine die*, there is no point in my moving this amendment, and, therefore, I beg leave to withdraw it.

At the same meeting, when the Bill to validate action taken under the Indian Universities Act, 1904, *was under consideration, Gokhale moved:*

that after clause 1 of the Bill, the following clause be added, clauses 2 and 3 being renumbered 3 and 4, respectively, namely, "2, Nothing in this Act shall apply to the University of Bombay."

In proposing his amendment, he said :

My Lord, I have already twice referred to what has taken place at Bombay, but in asking that the Bombay University be excluded from the operation of this Bill, I must recapitulate once more the facts on which I base my motion, and I hope the Council will bear with me while I do so. The most important difference between Bombay and elsewhere has been this — that while in other places the illegality of the notifications was not discovered before the elections and no formal protests were in consequence made at the time, in Bombay even this plea of acquiescence on the part of members of the Senate is not available to Government. Of course such acquiescence or the absence of it does not affect the legal position, but it is a moral consideration of very real importance. In Bombay, the illegal character of the notification was perceived as soon as it was issued. The members who perceived it thereupon took legal opinion. They first consulted Mr. Inverarity and the Hon'ble Mr. Setalwad, who both

condemned the notification in unequivocal and emphatic terms as illegal. Then they consulted Mr. Lowndes,[1] who was equally emphatic in his condemnation. All three Counsels thought that the illegality was so patent that it had only to be brought to the notice of the Chancellor, and they felt confident that he would see the necessity of withdrawing the notification. Armed with these opinions, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, himself a lawyer occupying a commanding position at the Bar, and several other Fellows approached the Chancellor and asked for a reconsideration of the question before it was too late. All this was done before the date of the first election.

Validating High-handedness

The University authorities, however, took it upon themselves to ignore the whole thing and proceeded to hold the elections as directed in the notification. At the meeting of the Arts group the Vice-Chancellor presided, and he allowed a motion to adjourn so as to give time to the Chancellor to reconsider the matter to be put to the meeting. The next day, the Law group met, the Judicial Member of the Bombay Government, whose interest in University matters has hitherto been by no means conspicuous, attended and took the chair, which otherwise would have been taken by the Senior Fellow present — Sir Pherozeshah Mehta — and flouting the ruling of the Vice-Chancellor of the previous day, ruled a motion for adjournment out of order, and after a majority of the members present had left the meeting under protest, got the remaining five, including himself, to elect the two representatives for law. These high-handed proceedings left no option to those who saw the illegality and declined to be a party to it but to go to the High Court. And, on this being done, the University authorities have come to the Supreme Government with an appeal to shield them and save their prestige by means of a validating measure. My Lord, to use the powers of the Legislature for validating what has taken place in Bombay is to abuse those powers. For it means validating illegalities committed in the light of day and in spite of warnings and protests. It means validating high-handedness. It means interfering with a pending suit, which on the part of private individuals is regarded as contempt of Court. It means coming between the aggrieved party and the protection which it has a right to look for at the hands of the High Court. It means securing for the wrong-doer the fruits of his wrong-doing. Finally, it means penalizing those who have declined to be a party to an illegal proceeding and have done their best to have it set right; for, as I pointed out last time, these men did not take any part in the elections — they did not allow themselves to be nominated as candidates, and they did not vote, fully believing that the illegal elections could not be upheld and would have to be set aside; and to uphold the elections now by means of legislation is to disfranchise them.

Legislative Injustice

Then, my Lord, there is the question of costs. These men have had to spend

1. Law Member, Governor-General's executive council (1904-09).

money in taking the course they were compelled to take. Counsel do not give their opinion for nothing, neither do they appear to argue a case for nothing and if the matter had been left to be decided by the High Court, their costs would probably have been awarded to them, if the decision had been in their favour. My Lord, does the Legislature exist for the perpetration of what may be called Legislative injustice ? Was no other course open to the Government? In Bombay, at any rate, there is no question of the Senate having to be reconstituted. The only thing needed is to withdraw the notification about the election of the Syndicate and substitute another in its place in accordance with law. This could be done at once and the new election might take place in a week's time after that. Surely the University of Bombay can exist for a week without a Syndicate, and even the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Bill will have to admit that when it is remembered that from 8th December, when the notification about the new Senate appeared, to 17th January, when the Provisional Syndicate was formed — *i.e.*, for more than five weeks — there was no Syndicate in Bombay, and the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar carried on the executive business of the University without any hitch. There is thus no reasonable ground for undertaking the present legislation for Bombay, while there are several most important considerations against the course adopted by the Government. I, therefore, beg to move that the Bombay University be excluded from the scope of the Bill.

Gokhale's Reply

Replying, at the same meeting, to the official criticisms of his amendment, Gokhale said :

My Lord, the Hon'ble Member seems to be labouring under a strange misapprehension about the numbers that he has given us. He has given us the total numbers in the various groups, not the numbers actually present. When this Bill was introduced here, I wrote to Bombay asking for the figures of those actually present. I have got them, but I did not care to trouble the Council with them. However, as the Hon'ble Member has mentioned the matter, let me explain what actually happened. In the Faculty of Law there were 11 members present. Of these 6 withdrew. It is quite true that the total Faculty of Law consists of 22, but when this question of legality was raised, many thought the proceedings were illegal and did not care to attend, so that only 11 attended, and out of these 6 withdrew. It is absolutely clear that if the 6 had remained they would have elected such persons as they might have cared to do. In the same manner the Faculty of Arts consisted of 45 members, but I understand that only about 20 members were present. The rest did not care to attend, owing to the question of legality that was raised. In fact, those who were in favour of the new order of things attended while those who were against the new order of things abstained. Therefore, it cannot be said that only one man was against the election of those 4 members.

In the Faculty of Engineering, the Faculty consisted almost entirely of Government officers, to whom we do not look for independent action.

In the Faculty of Medicine too the actual voting was confined to a very

small number. Therefore, it is no use giving the total numbers of the different groups and making deductions only of those who openly seceded, which leaves it to be inferred that the rest were in favour of these elections.

Then as regards the question that the members who have been elected are all right and are fully representative of all interests, I deliberately did not care to raise that question, because it involves a discussion about the qualifications and disqualifications of individuals. As the Hon'ble Member has, however, done it, I must to a certain extent follow his example. It is quite true that the Hon'ble Mr. Chandavarkar has been elected in the Faculty of Law, but the fact that Mr. Chandavarkar did not care to defend the suit that was brought against the new Syndicate shows what importance he attaches to the proceedings. Moreover, my Lord, the question is whether the different groups were so formed as to provide for the inclusion in the Syndicate of what may be called independent Indian gentlemen, that is, Indian gentlemen who are not Government servants, and from this standpoint, the composition of the Syndicate is far from satisfactory.

Now take the Faculty of Arts. All the four men who represent the Faculty of Arts are professors. Now when this Council provided last year that at least half the members of each Faculty should belong to the teaching profession surely nobody in this Council contemplated that all the seats that were reserved for any Faculty should be appropriated by the teaching element. All four of the men who represent the Faculty are professors, and the Faculty itself has been so composed as to have a very large preponderance of professors.

Thus the Council will see that there are good reasons to be dissatisfied with the constitution of the Syndicate.

But whether the personnel is satisfactory or not, the point is that the election was proceeded with in spite of illegalities which were pointed out. And my contention is that if there was even one man unjustly disfranchised, the Legislature is not justified in setting aside the legal claims of that one man, no matter what inconvenience might result.

[There was no official reply or attempt to challenge Gokhale's statements.]

[The motion was put and negatived, 5 voting for and 14 against.]

Executive Irresponsibility

At the same meeting, on the motion of Mr. Erle Richards that the Bill, as amended, be passed. Gokhale spoke as follows :

My Lord, I have already spoken thrice on this Bill, but I cannot let it pass without a final word of protest. My Lord, British rule in this country has hitherto been described — and on the whole, with good reason — as the reign of law. A few more measures, however, like the present, and that description will have to be abandoned and another substituted for it, namely, reign of Executive irresponsibility and validating legislation. My Lord, the Government are paying too great a price for what is undoubtedly an attempt to save the prestige of its officers. But is prestige ever so saved ? On the other hand, an

occasional admission of fallibility is not bad — especially for a strong Government like the British Government. It introduces a touch of the human into what ordinarily moves with machine-like rigidity. It enhances the respect of the people for law, because they are enabled to realize that even the Government respects it. And it strengthens the hold of the Government on the people, because they see that, in spite of its strength, it has a tender and scrupulous regard for the limitations imposed by the Legislature upon it. My Lord, may I, in this connection, without impertinence, say one word about your Lordship personally? Whatever differences of opinion there may be in the country about some of the measures of your Lordship's administration, the impression hitherto has been general that during your time the Local Governments and Administrations have had to realize more fully than before that there is a controlling and vigilant authority over them at the head, and that this authority will tolerate no irregularities on their part. It is a matter of disappointment that this impression should not have been justified in the present instance.

Humiliation of Legislature

My Lord, public opinion in this country being as feeble as it is, the only two bodies that control the exercise of absolute power by the Executive are the Legislature which lays down the law, and the High Courts which see that the law is obeyed. If now the Government is to destroy the protection which the High Courts afford by means of validating legislation, and if the Legislature is to be reduced to the position of a mere handmaid of the Executive to be utilized for passing such legislation, what is there left to stand between the people and the irresponsible will of the Executive? My Lord, I feel keenly this humiliation of my country's Legislature; for though we, Indian Members, have at present a very minor and almost insignificant part in its deliberations, it is after all our country's Legislature. Moreover, I have a feeling of faith that in the fulless of time our position in it will be much more satisfactory than at present, and anything that lowers it in the eyes of my countrymen cannot but be regarded with profound regret. My Lord, I will vote against the passing of this Bill.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

On Friday, 18th March 1910, Gokhale moved in the Imperial Legislative Council a resolution which recommended that a beginning be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. The resolution also recommended the appointment of a commission to frame definite proposals. In moving his resolutiion Gokhale made the following speech :

I beg to place the following resolution before the Council for its consideration: That this Council recommends that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials be appointed at an early date to frame definite proposals.

Mass Education — Government's Responsibility

My Lord, I trust the Council will note carefully what it is exactly that this resolution proposes. The resolution does not ask that elementary education should be made compulsory at once throughout India. It does not even ask that it should be made free at once throughout the country, though this was the course which the Government of India themselves were decidedly inclined to adopt three years ago. All that the resolution does is to recommend that a beginning should now be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory and that a Commission should be appointed to consider the question and frame definite proposals. In other words, I propose that the State should now accept in this country the same responsibilities in regard to mass education that the Governments of most other civilized countries are already discharging, and that a well-considered scheme should be drawn up and adhered to till it is carried out.

My Lord, a French writer has justly described the nineteenth century as pre-eminently the century of the child. The question of the education of the child occupied the attention of statesmen during that century as much as any other important question, and there is no doubt that the enormous expansion of popular education that has taken place during the period in the Western world ranks in importance with its three other great achievements, viz., the application of science to industrial processes, the employment of steam and electricity to annihilate distance, and the rise of democracies. My Lord, three movements have combined to give to mass education the place which it occupies at present among the duties of a State — the humanitarian movement which reformed prisons and liberated the slave, the democratic movement which admitted large masses of men to a participation in government, and the industrial movement which brought home to nations the recognition that the general spread of education in a country, even when it did not proceed beyond the elementary stage, meant the increased efficiency of the worker.

My Lord, the time is long past when anybody could seriously contend that the bulk of human beings were made for physical labour only and that even the faint glimmer of rudimentary knowledge was not for them. On the contrary, it is at present universally recognized that a certain minimum of general instruction is an obligation which society owes to all its future members, and in nearly the whole civilized world every State is trying to meet this obligation only in one way, namely, by making elementary education compulsory and free. And thus it is, that led by the German States, country after country in Europe and America and Japan in the East have adopted this system of free and compulsory education; and we find today all the countries in Europe, excepting Russia and Turkey, and the United States of America and Canada and Australia and Japan and several even of the smaller Republics in South America — all having this system in operation. And even within the borders of India itself it is gratifying to note that the enlightened and far-seeing Ruler of Baroda, after an experiment of fifteen years carried out in one of the talukas of his State, namely, the Amreli Taluka, has since last year extended this system to the whole of his State.

School Attendance in Other Countries

The statistics of school attendance in the different countries are in this connection deeply instructive. To understand these statistics it is necessary that we should remember that the English standard of school-going population is 15 per cent, but that standard pre-supposes a school period of 6 to 7 years. In England the period — the compulsory period — being from 6 to 7 years, they estimate that about 15 per cent of a country must be at school. It follows therefore that where this period is longer the proportion of the total population that will be at school will be greater, and where the period is shorter the proportion will be smaller. Now in the United States and in some of the continental countries this period is 8 years, whereas in Japan it is only 4 years, and in Italy it is as low as 3 years. Remembering these things I would ask the Council to note the statistics. In the United States of America 21 per cent of the whole population is receiving elementary education; in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, and in Great Britain and Ireland the proportion ranges from 20 to 17 per cent; in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway, and in the Netherlands the proportion is from 17 to 15 per cent; in France it is slightly above 14 per cent; in Sweden it is 14 per cent, in Denmark it is 13 per cent, in Belgium it is 12 per cent; in Japan it is 11 per cent; in Italy, Greece and Spain it ranges between 8 and 9 per cent; in Portugal and Russia it is between 4 and 5 per cent. I may mention in this connection that though elementary education is nominally compulsory in Portugal, the compulsion is not strictly enforced, and in Russia it is not compulsory, though for the most part it is gratuitous. In the Philippine Islands it is 5 per cent of the total population; in Baroda it is 5 per cent of the total population; and in British India it is only 1.9 per cent of the total population.

Primary Education in India

I must now invite the Council to survey briefly the progress made in this country in the matter of primary education during the last half century. It is well known that our modern educational system dates from the time of the famous despatch[1] of 1854. Before that despatch was received, it has been estimated by the Education Commission[2] of Lord Ripon's[3] Government that primary education was in existence on a considerable scale in this country. The total estimate made by them was that about 9 lakhs of pupils were receiving instruction in indigenous schools uncontrolled by any State agency and in accordance with ancient traditions. The Court of Directors in their despatch of 1854 first of all made the following declaration :

> It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge and which India may under Providence derive from her connection with England.

In other words, as the Education Commission of 1882 say, 'in 1854 the education of the whole people in India was definitely accepted as a State duty.' The despatch went on further to say this :

> Our attention should now be directed to a consideration, if possible still more important, and one which has hitherto, we are bound to admit, been too much neglected, namely, how useful and practical knowledge suited to every station in life should be best conveyed to the great mass of the people who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts, and we desire to see the active measures of Government more specially directed for the future to this object, for the attainment of which we are ready to sanction a considerable increase in expenditure.

The next landmark in our educational progress is the Commission of 1882 appointed by the Government of Lord Ripon. This Commission was appointed to enquire into the state of education throughout the country, and one of the chief subjects suggested for inquiry was how far the policy laid down in the despatch of 1854 in regard to elementary education had been carried out. The Commission made careful inquiries and found that in 1882 there were about 85,000 primary schools in the country recognized by the Department, and there were about 21½ lakhs of pupils attending these schools. In addition to these were about 3½ lakhs attending unrecognized schools. If we include these in our statistics for the purpose of finding out what was the extent of

1 Despatch from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, dated July 19, 1854, No. 49.

2 The Commission was appointed " with a view to enquiring into the working of the existing system of Public Instruction, and to the further extension of that system on a popular basis. " Sir William Hunter was its President (1882-83).

3 Goveror-General of India (1880-84).

elementary education, then we get a total of 25 lakhs of pupils in 1882 receiving elementary instruction. That means 1·2 per cent of the whole population of India at that time. The Commission, after pointing out how great was the area that still had to be covered, made several recommendations, of which I will quote these two. The first was :

> While every branch of education might justly claim the fostering care of the State it is desirable in the present circumstances to the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed in still larger measure than heretofore.

The second recommendation, which has not been much noticed, was that :

> An attempt be made to secure the fullest possible provision for an expansion of primary education by legislation suited to the circumstances of each province.

Present Position of Educational Progress

Well, that was in 1882. A quarter of a century has elapsed since then, and what do we find today ? The number of schools has risen from 85,000 to about 113,000: the number of pupils today in recognized schools both for boys and girls is about 39 lakhs. If we include in our estimate pupils who are attending unrecognized schools, we get a total of under 45 lakhs or about 1·9 per cent of the whole population. Thus in the course of a quarter of a century the progress of primary education in this country is represented by an advance from 1·2 per cent to 1·9 per cent of the total population. My Lord, I venture to say that this is exceedingly slow and disappointing progress. It will be noticed on a reference to the last quinquennial report that a large part of this progress has been achieved during the last six or seven years only. But even at this latter rate, I am quite sure that the rate of progress will not be regarded as in any way satisfactory; and well may the Hon'ble Mr. Orange[1] say in his last report, as he says :

> But the rate of increase for the last 25 years or for the last 5 is more slow than when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years and there were no increase in population, even then several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-age were in school.

The expenditure on primary education from public funds, that is, from provincial, municipal and local funds all taken together, has advanced during this period only by about 57 lakhs. It was a little over 36 lakhs then; it is over 93 lakhs just now. Now during the same period our land-revenue has

1. Director-General of Education.

advanced by 8 crores. It is now a little over 29 crores as against a little over 21 crores then. Our military expenditure during the same time has risen by about 13 crores : it was 19 crores then; it is now over 32 crores. The expenditure on civil departments has gone up by 8 crores. It is today 19 crores, I am taking the figures for 1907; it was about 11 crores then. Even the capital outlay on railways which averaged about 4 crores in those days, it will now be noticed, has gone up to about 15 crores. The contrast suggested by these figures is obvious and I do not think that any comment is necessary.

Comparison with Other Countries : (i) England

I think, my Lord, a comparison of the progress made in this country during the last 25 years with what has been achieved in other countries during a corresponding period would be of great interest and is undoubtedly of great significance. I will take for purposes of this comparison four countries, two from the West and two from the East. I will take England and Russia from the West, and I will take Japan and the Philippines from the East. Well, what do we find ? In England compulsory education was first introduced in the year 1870. England with her strongly marked love of individualism stood out against the continental system as long as she could. It was only in 1870 that the first step towards making elementary education compulsory was taken. The famous Act of 1870 did not introduce compulsion directly. It introduced what was described as permissive compulsion, that is, it conferred powers upon School Boards to frame bye-laws requiring the attendance of children at school. That was the first step. Six years afterwards another enactment was passed, and in 1880 a third enactment was passed whereby the fabric of compulsion was completed. The enactment of 1876 imposed an obligation on parents to send their children to school and it also created School Attendance Committees in those areas where there were no School Boards : and finally, in 1880, compulsion was made absolute because the framing of bye-laws requiring attendance by School Boards and Committees which was optional before, was made obligatory by the Act of 1880. The statistics about attendance during that period of 12 years are of great interest. Sir Henry Craik[1] in his book, *The State in Relation to Education*, gives these statistics, from which we find that in 1871, when the population of England was 22 millions, the number of children actually attending schools was only 1,300,000. That amounted to about 43·3 per cent of the school-going population which at 15 per cent meant a little over three millions. In 1876 the number had risen to 2 millions, which was about 66 per cent of the school-going population. By 1882 the number had already gone beyond 3 millions, that is, almost

[1] Sir HENRY CRAIK (1846-1927), civil servant, politician and man of letters; Secretary, committee for Scottish education (1885-1904); Conservative M.P. (1906-27); author of several books, among them; *Impressions of India* (1908).

every child that should have been at school was at school. The whole problem was thus solved in 12 years and the attendance at schools was carried from 43·3 to nearly 100 per cent in the period between 1870 and 1882. In 1881, England made education free.

(*ii*) *Japan*

Turning now to Japan we have an illustration of progress under other conditions. Japan has successfully applied Western methods to Eastern conditions of life, and in Japan we find that the modern educational system of the country dates, like almost everything else connected with her modern greatness, from the year 1872.

In that year a rescript was issued by the Emperor in which the following words occur : " It is designed henceforth that education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, or a family with an ignorant member. " Ambitious words these, my Lord, as Mr. Sharpe points out, but Japan has entirely fulfilled them in the course of about 30 years. Before 1872, the total proportion of her population of school-going age that was at school was only about 28 per cent. By the time that the century closed the proportion had already advanced to over 90 per cent. All this was achieved by Japan during a period when at the same time she created her magnificent army and navy, which have extorted the unstinted admiration of the world. In Japan education is now practically compulsory, though they rely more upon moral persuasion than upon compulsion. In the earlier years of this period compulsion was not strictly enforced, but from 1890 steps have been taken to secure the attendance of every child of school-going age. In 1900, Japan made education free as far as possible.

(*iii*) *Russia*

Now, I turn to Russia. The educational problem in Russia is in many respects similar to the educational problem in this country, and yet we shall find that during the period of which I am speaking, that is, from 1880 to 1907, the progress of primary education even in Russia has been far greater than it has been in this country. In Russia the Government tried by the law of 1864 and the law of 1871 to direct the course of education, but without much success. As a matter of fact, the Government has not been able to do in Russia anything like what other Governments in the West have done in their countries. Even so, in the year 1880, there were just over a million pupils at school in Russia, and there were about 28,000 schools at that time. During the 25 years of which I speak the number of schools has risen to 90,000, and the number of pupils has gone up to nearly six millions. It was for 1906-1907, 5,700,000. Thus in 1880, according to the population at that time, about 1·2 per cent of the total population was at school. Curiously enough, that was precisely the proportion in India at the time, 1·2 per cent of the whole population. In

1906-1907, however, the proportion had gone up in Russia to about 4·5 per cent of the population as against 1·9 in India. In Russia, as I have already pointed out, education is not compulsory, but it is for the most part gratuitous.

(*iv*) *Philippine Islands*

Lastly, I will take the case of the Philippine Islands which are under foreign rule. As is well known, the Philippines passed under the rule of America, from the rule of Spain at the close of the last century. Definite reliable statistics are available from the year 1903; and taking the period 1903-1908, the period corresponding to that in regard to which the Hon'ble Mr. Orange mentions the fact that the progress has been far greater than during any other time before in India, what do we find ? In 1903 the number of schools was under 2,000, the number of pupils was about a lakh and a half (150,000). The total population of the Philippine Islands is about 7 millions. This gives for 1903 a proportion of about 2 per cent of the whole population at school. In 1908 the schools had doubled and the numbers attending them had risen to 360,000, which give a proportion of about 5 per cent of the whole population. Thus the population actually at school advanced from about 2 per cent to 5 per cent during 1903 to 1908, during which time in India it advanced only from 1·6 per cent to 1·9 per cent. In the Philippines, education is compulsory, though the compulsion is not strictly enforced. It is also free where the teachers are paid out of public funds.

Compulsory and Free Education — Only Solution

My Lord, I have troubled the Council with this review not because I believe in bewailing lost opportunities, but because the problems of the present and the future can be successfully solved only when they are taken in relation to the past. ' Forget those things that are behind ' is no doubt a wise injunction, and yet it is sometimes necessary to recall such things in order to understand the better those things that are ahead. I am sure there is no one in this Council who will question either the value or the necessity of universal education for the mass of the people. I am sure even my Hon'ble friend the Maharaja of Burdwan,[1] with all his horror of Western socialism, will not want the mass of our people to remain steeped permanently in ignorance and darkness. Now the only way that the world has discovered to secure universal education in a country has been by making it compulsory and free. This is the only method that the world has found to be successful and so far there is no other method in the field. Again, if you make elementary instruction compulsory, it follows

[1] Sir VIJAY CHAND MAHTAB; Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan; member, Imperial Legislative Council (1909-12); member, Bengal Legislative Council (1907-18); member, Bengal Executive Council (1919-21); member, Indian Reforms Inquiry Committee (1924); helped save the life of Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt.-Governor of Bengal, by standing between him and his assassin.

that you will have also to make it free, because otherwise compulsion would operate harshly on the poorer classes of the community. The only question therefore that we have to consider is how far we in this country can now adopt that principle which has already been adopted by most countries of the civilized world, and which has produced those most striking results that I have already mentioned to the Council.

Now this question, I admit, is largely a question of what is practicable and not a question of mere theory. I want therefore to approach the question and consider it strictly and solely from a practical standpoint. There is no doubt that I shall be told in the course of this discussion that the country is not yet ripe for the introduction of the compulsory principle. Well, I myself admit the necessity of proceeding in this matter with extreme caution and only after due deliberation, but the objection that the country is not ripe for any particular reform has always been urged, as far as I am aware, against every reform that has ever been proposed. We shall not therefore take much note of that objection, but consider what are the practical difficulties that will have actually to be surmounted before this principle is successfully applied to Indian conditions.

Extent of the Problem

My Lord, what is the extent of the problem that we have got to solve in this country ? This is the first consideration. Here let me state at the outset that I do not propose compulsion for the present for girls; I propose compulsion only for boys. For girls for the present and for some years to come, education will have to be on a voluntary basis. In some respects girls education is even more important than that of boys in the India of today, and yet in view of the difficulties that surround that question, that education must be maintained for some years to come only on a voluntary basis. At the same time, far more vigorous efforts are necessary, on that voluntary basis, than have so far been made. But I want the Council clearly to understand that the compulsory principle which I advocate today is to be confined only to boys. We must therefore first of all ascertian what would be the number of boys that would be at school if education were compulsory in this country. Now I have already pointed out that the standard of 15 per cent of the total population as the school-going population is the standard of England. There the school period is taken to be 6 to 7 years. I propose that we should be satisfied with a compulsory period of 4 years only as they have in Japan. In Japan the period is from 6 years to 10 years of the child's age. I propose that we should be satisfied with that period. If we have this period as the compulsory period, it will be found on a reference to census returns that the proportion of the male population of the country between the years 6 and 10 is less than 12 per cent of the total male population. Therefore, our problem is how to educate, how to have under elementary instruction 12 per cent of the male population of the country.

Now we find that already at the present moment, about 3 per cent of the male population is at school -- as a reference to the last quinquennial report will show. The number of boys at school, according to that report, is about 36 lakhs, and adding to that number the 5 or 6 lakhs that are attending schools not recognized by the State, it will be found that the proportion comes to about 3 per cent of the total male population. We therefore have one quarter of the male population of school-going age already at school. What we want therefore is to quadruple this attendance and provide for the cost of such quadrupling.

Financial Aspect

Now another reference to the quinquennial report will show that the cost of maintaining all these boys' schools in 1906-07 was about a crore and 36 lakhs from all sources, provincial, municipal and local, as also fees and other receipts. Well, assuming that all further expansion takes place only out of public funds, that there are no more fees charged and no more receipts from private sources coming, we shall need four times this cost in order to have the entire male population of school-going age at school. Four times a crore and 36 lakhs means about $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores; that is, about 4 crores more than what is expended at the present moment will have to be found if the entire male population of school-going age is to be maintained at school.

Now I do not suggest that the whole of this burden should fall upon the State. I think it should be divided between the State and local bodies. I would suggest a proportion of two-thirds and one-third, as they have in Scotland, where the Parliamentary grant and the amount spent from local rates stand to each other in the proportion of two to one. If the State will therefore undertake to defray two-thirds of this 4 crores. it will mean an additional expenditure of about $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores when every boy is at school, supposing of course that the population remains where it is just now. This, however, it will be seen, will not have to be incurred at once. Two and two-third crores will be reached when the entire field has been covered, which will be a slow process even when the principle of compulsion, as I advocate it, has been adopted, because it will have to be applied slowly; I for one shall be satisfied if the whole field is covered in the course of, say, 20 years. If in the course of 20 years we get the entire male population of school-going age at school, I for one shall think that we have done extremely well. This means that the whole of this increased cost of $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores which the State will have to incur will be spread over 20 years, and will not be incurred at once.

Practical Proposals

Having pointed out thus the extent of the problem, I will now come to the actual proposals that I want to make. (1) My first proposal is that following the example of the Act of 1870, we should pass an Act conferring powers upon local bodies to make elementary education compulsory in their areas.

I recognize, my Lord, that the unpopularity that will be evoked by the principle of compulsion in certain sections will be considerable; and in view of the special circumstances attaching to the position of the British Government in this country, I recognize that this unpopularity should not come to the State on account of any direct compulsion introduced by it. The compulsion introduced therefore should be indirect, through local bodies and not direct by the State. (2) My second proposal is that compulsion should be only for boys and not for girls. (3) My third proposal is that the period of compulsion should be between 6 years and 10 years as in Japan. (4) The fourth proposal is this. In any area where 33 per cent of the male population is already at school, there this principle of compulsion should be applied. I have already pointed out that in England about 43·4 per cent of the children were at school when compulsion was introduced. In Japan about 28 per cent were at school. I should propose 33 per cent as the proportion which should satisfy us that compulsion would not be premature in any particular area. Where 33 per cent of the boys are actually at school, elementary education should be made compulsory for all boys in that area. In other areas the attempt should be to work up to this proportion of 33 per cent. As soon as 33 per cent is reached, compulsion should be introduced. (5) My fifth proposal is that wherever compulsory education is introduced, it should be gratuitous, because otherwise it would be a great hardship on poor people. At any rate the children of those parents whose income is below a certain limit, say Rs. 25 a month, should receive gratuitous instruction. (6) My sixth proposal is that the extra cost should be divided between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of 2 to 1. (7) My seventh proposal is that there should now be a separate Secretary for Education in the Home Department. Instead of having a Director-General I would have a Secretary in the Home Department specially for education, and eventually I look forward to the time when a Member in separate charge of education will be included in the Executive Council. (8) My eighth proposal is that education should now be a divided head instead of its being a purely Provincial head.

The root of the mischief, as we see it today, is there. The resources at the disposal of the Provincial Governments are extremely limited. I know many of the Provincial Governments are anxious to spend more money on primary education; but it is a struggle with them which they have constantly to carry on to make the two ends meet, and it is not possible for them to find more money for primary education than they are able to spend at the present moment.

The Government of India, on the other hand, has from time to time abundant resources at its disposal, though this year my Hon'ble friend has imposed extra taxation. In any case the Government of India has not the same struggle to make its two ends meet that the Local Governments generally have; if it had a direct responsibility for education instead of the remote responsibility that it has at present, I am quite sure more would be done for education. Education should therefore be a divided charge and there should be a definite

programme before the Government, just as there is a programme for railways, which should be carried out steadily year by year. (9) My last proposal in this connection is that a statement describing the progress of education from year to year should be published with the annual Financial Statement as is done in the case of Army Services and the Railway Board. These are the 9 definite practical proposals that I would like to submit to the consideration of this Council. I do not claim that these are the details of a complete scheme : they are only general suggestions tentatively thrown out, and if the Government will appoint a Commission such as I suggest, all these suggestions can go to that Commission, and the Commission would be able to pronounce definitely on their practicability.

Finance for the Scheme

I now come to the financial part of the scheme. I have already said that the cost for the State will be about $2\frac{2}{3}$ crores a year, to be worked up to in twenty years. Well, in spite of the financial difficulties of which we have heard a good deal this year, the State is in a position to meet this cost. The resources of the State are ample for this purpose. I will only briefly indicate them. First of all you have the normal growth of revenue, which was once estimated by Sir Edward Baker[1] at about a crore and 20 lakhs a year. Then you must have retrenchment. I trust after what has been said during the course of the recent discussions that a rigorous policy of retrenchment will now be enforced especially in regard to those Departments which show overgrown expenditure, such as the Army and Civil Departments. Thirdly, there is that sum of about a million sterling, which is spent out of revenue partly for reducing debt under the Famine Insurance Grant and partly under Railways for redemption of debt. That ought to be made available for expenditure for current purposes. The fourth resource is this. For years, in the sixties and seventies, our import duties used to be at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent instead of 5 per cent. There is no reason why they should not be at $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent again. That will bring $2\frac{1}{2}$ crores more for my Hon'ble friend there. The fifth source that I would point out is an export duty on jute and on several other commodities. A 5 per cent duty on jute will mean about a crore of rupees. Lastly, I go further and I say this, that if the worst comes to the worst and every other resource fails, which I do not for a moment think to be possible, I shall be prepared to advocate an extra 8 annas on salt because I think it is a smaller evil that my countrymen should eat less salt than that their children should continue to grow up in ignorance and darkness and all the moral and material helplessness which at present characterizes their lives.

The Question of Questions

My Lord, one word more and I have done. I will frankly confess that I have not introduced this resolution in the Council today in the hope that it will

[1] Sir EDWARD NORMAN BAKER, I. C. S., Finance Secretary to Bengal Government and member, Bengal Legislative Council (1898-1902); Finance Secretary, Government of India; Finance member, Government of India (1905–08); Lt-Governor of Bengal (1908–11).

be adopted by the Council. Constituted as this body is, we all recognize that unless a resolution finds favour in the eyes of the Government, there is no chance of its being carried, and I recognize further that it is not reasonable to expect Government to accept this resolution without further consideration. Even if they are inclined to take a favourable view of my proposals, they are proposals which will naturally have to be referred to the Secretary of State before any decisive step is taken. I have not therefore the least expectation that this resolution will be adopted by the Council. But though the Government may not be able to accept the resolution, they certainly can undertake to examine the whole question at an early date in a sympathetic spirit. If that is done, I shall be satisfied. In any case the Government, I trust, will not do two things. I trust they will not make a definite pronouncement against the principle of free and compulsory education today, and I also trust that the resolution which I have moved will not be brushed aside on the plea that the condition of the finances does not admit of the proposals being entertained. My Lord, there is much truth in the homely adage that where there is a will there is a way. I think that this question of compulsory and free primary education is now in this country the question of questions. The well-being of millions upon millions of children who are waiting to be brought under the humanizing influence of education depends upon it. The increased efficiency of the individual, the higher general level of intelligence, the stiffening of the moral backbone of large sections of the community, none of these things can come without such education. In fact, the whole of our furture as a nation is inextricably bound up with it. My Lord, however this resolution may be disposed of here today, I feel that in this matter we are bound to win. The practice of the whole civilized world, the sympathies of the British democracy and our own natural and legitimate aspirations of which your Lordship has more than once admitted the reasonableness, all these are united in its favour. This resolution will come up again and again before this Council till it is carried to a successful issue. My Lord, I earnestly hope that the Government will read aright the needs of the situation and not fail to move with the times in this matter. To my mind the call of duty to them is clear, and it is also the call of statesmanship — that statesmanship which pursues, unhasting but unresting, the highest interests of the people committed to its care.

Government Assurance Welcomed

In his reply at the same meeting to the Debate, Gokhale said :

My Lord, I will now say a few words by way of reply to the observations which have seen made by several Members on this resolution. At the outset, I would express my thanks to the Hon'ble the Home Member for the assurance that he gave at the end of his speech that the Government would consider carefully the proposals laid by me before the Council today. I wish I could feel the same degree of satisfaction in regard to certain other parts of his speech,

notably in regard to what he said about a Commission going up and down the country, inviting suggestions from all and sundry as to what should be done by Government in this matter. I must also say that I was somewhat surprised to hear that the suggestions which I have placed before the Council appeared to be altogether new to the Hon'ble Member. My Lord, when I suggested the appointment of a Commission I naturally also meant that the Government should take some interest in the matter; and if they took some interest in it, they would not start a Commission with a mere blank sheet of paper before asking it to go up and down the country inviting suggestions. The Government would then start the Commission, as is invariably done in such cases, with definite instructions, and definite questions would then be framed on which opinions would be invited from the public.

As regards the statement of the Hon'ble Member that my suggestions were new, it only emphasizes what I have been insisting on in this Council for several years, namely, that education should be made over to a separate Member of this Council. Education is one of twenty other Departments with which the Hon'ble Member has to deal, and it is not to be expected that he will pursue educational matters with the same diligence and the same watchfulness with which they are pursued in other countries, notably in America, where they try to follow what is being done throughout the world every year in regard to education.

Sir H. Stuart's[1] *Hostility*

If things had stood where they were left by the Hon'ble Sir Harvey Adamson,[2] I should have thought that Government had adopted towards my resolution an attitude which was, on the whole, not unfriendly. But the remarks made by the Hon'ble Sir H. Stuart appear to me to be uncompromisingly hostile. I speak subject to correction because the Hon'ble Member had quite finished his Binomial Theorem when the bell rang and the time allowed for the examination was over. I can therefore confine myself only to what he actually said, and that portion did not sound as at all friendly to my motion. I must notice three observations that he made. The first was in connection with my humble self. I see that the Hon'ble Member has been studying some of my past utterances. That is a matter from which I should perhaps derive some satisfaction. I must say, however, that he has not been reading my speeches correctly. He has no justification for saying that I have now taken up a position which is inconsistent with the position I had taken up before. It is true that three years ago I urged that Government should begin in this matter by making primary education free, and then proceed to make it compulsory. The aim always has been to have it free and compulsory. Three years ago I urged the abolition of fees

[1] Sir HAROLD STUART, I. C. S. Secretary, Police Commission (1902-03); Director, Central (1904-05); Secretary, Home Department, Government of India (1908-10); member, Board of Revenue, Madras (1911).

[2] Home Member, Government of India (1906-10).

first because Government had then plenty of money, with which they hardly knew what to do. As Government was then inclined to be favourable to that idea — and as to that I have only to refer to the Government Resolution issued at that time to make clear what their attitude was in the matter — I thought that was the line of least resistance. But throughout my aim has been to work steadily towards compulsion. The financial position, however, has changed. When new taxes have just been added, I cannot very well suggest to this Council that primary education should be made free straight off. I therefore have changed my track a bit, and, instead of beginning with the abolition of fees, I ask for the introduction of the principle of compulsion, which has always been an integral part of my scheme. I do not see that there is any inconsistency in that. If the Government abolish fees today, no one will rejoice more than I.

There was another observation made by the Hon'ble Member which was slightly more serious. He said that I had expressed myself in a manner that was ungenerous towards Sir Arundel Arundel[1] about three years ago in this Council. Now, my Lord, a reference to the debates of that time will show that this description of what I then said is not justified. What happened was this : In March 1906, when the Budget Statement was under discussion I urged that primary education should be made free. There was a large surplus. in fact, as I have said, Government did not know what to do with their money. Sir Arundel Arundel, who was then the Home Member and therefore in charge of education, in his reply described my suggestion as a large order. He no doubt expressed the same kind of sympathy with my object that the Finance Member lavished on us while he was putting on us new taxes. He said the object was very good and the Government would keep it steadily in view as a distant peak which some day they might be able to reach, but for the present they had to crawl along the plain. Within six months, however, Government issued a Resolution practically recommending free education to Local Governments. It was not a circular letter merely asking what Local Governments thought. It was more; the whole tone of it shows that it was practically a recommendation that was made. Of course they asked, as a matter of courtesy, what the Local Governments thought of the matter but the whole document reads as if the Government of India had made up their minds on the subject.

The next year's Financial Statement contained a remark which was quoted by the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy[2] to the effect that if the Secretary of State's orders were received in the course of the year, primary education would be made free and funds would be made available. Therefore, from the position which Sir A. Arundel took in March to the position in November there was a tremendous advance. I noted that fact in March following and I used it as an argument that education should be in charge of a separate Member who would

[1] Home Member, Viceroy's executive council (1901-1905).

[2] Sir Manekji Dadabhoy, Government Advocate, Nagpur (1891); President, Provincial Industrial Conference (1907); some time Dewan, Deor State; member and president, Council of State for many years.

take a special interest in it, and it should not be one of twenty other Departments over which the Home Member presided. I think the present system under which Education has to rub shoulders with Jails, Police and other Departments in charge of the Home Member, is one that is distinctly prejudicial to the interests of Education.

The third point that I must notice in Sir H. Stuart's remarks is about his calculations as to the cost of my scheme. My Lord, there is a saying that the worst enemy of the good is the best. I proposed some humble advance; the Hon'ble Member straightway wants us to go to the farthest point possible and then frightens the Council by calculations based on that. He may as well have said, " if education is to be free why not adopt the system that prevails in America?" Then the cost will be 30 or even 40 crores. If you want to make a proposal look, I won't say, ridiculous, but I will say queer in the eyes of people, then I have no objection to that method. But I should not have expected that from one with the sympathies which Sir H. Stuart is known to have in this matter.

Accommodation by Local Bodies

My Lord, I now come to what fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Orange in a speech to which we listened with great pleasure and sincere admiration. I have no quarrel with his position; I know his heart is practically with us in this matter, but he has to be practical and to cut his coat according to his cloth. He has to consider his resources and is strictly limited by them. One friendly warning he gave me which I am prepared to take in the spirit in which I am inclined to think it was offered, namely, that I should not complicate a consideration of this question by a reference to extraneous questions, such as railway finance, taxation of jute, etc. Now I can assure the Hon'ble Member that I did not introduce those matters in any wanton spirit. As a matter of fact unless you show that there are resources, the first difficulty that is pressed upon you is this. 'It is all very well to suggest such schemes, but where is the money to come from?' If however you suggest measures for finding the required money, you are straightway told that you are introducing extraneous matters and interfering with vested interests.

There was one point in the Hon'ble Mr. Orange's speech in regard to which I throw the main responsibility on Government. The Hon'ble Member said that the great difficulty was about the provision of sufficient accommodation by local bodies. That is true. He quoted from a report of the Government of Bombay which said that 100,000 children were seeking admission but had no accommodation. But why is this so? Why have not local bodies been required to provide accommodation? I quoted this morning one of the recommendations of the Commission appointed in Lord Ripon's time. The Commission had distinctly recommended that legislation should be resorted to in order to promote the extension of primary education; by that the Commission meant that powers should be taken by Government to require local bodies to provide accommodation. That was twenty-five years ago,

but the recommendation has been allowed to remain a dead letter. No action has so far been taken on it and now we are confronted with this difficulty.

Certain objections were raised today by the Hon'ble Mr. Chitnavis[1] and the Hon'ble Mr. Majid to the principle of compulsion. They both thought compulsion was undesirable because if all children were sent to school it would be difficult to get labour. In answer to that I respectfully recommend to them a perusal of the debates in the House of Commons, when the Education Act of 1870 was passed; they will find them in the volumes of Hansard. Such objections have always been urged, but as I said this morning, the mass of people do not live in order to supply labour to those who wish to prosper on it. I think it is the elementary right of every child that it should receive at least the rudiments of education. Mr. Majid referred to the religious difficulty; as regards that I am in sympathy with him. That is a matter for the Commission to consider, if one is appointed. Nothing of course should be done which would go against the religious prejudices of any community. As regards special taxation, well, I do not share the fears expressed. If Government takes up this matter in the spirit in which I should like them to do it, I do not think there would be any necessity for special taxation. I do not think we should accept Sir H. Stuart's calculations. I do not really think that the cost will be more than 4 or 5 crores, even if education is provided for the whole of the male population; and the burden that would fall upon the State would not be very heavy. As regards the children of poorer classes becoming gentlemen if they are educated, that is an argument which I had better leave alone.

My Lord, I think the whole discussion has established two things : first, the necessity for an inquiry has been clearly established. There is the point to which the Hon'ble Mr. Orange has referred, namely, requiring local bodies to provide accommodation. The Hon'ble Mr. Quin[2] has told the Council of the opposition of villagers to education and other members have expressed other views. Even the official members are not agreed in this matter. Therefore, I think, the necessity for an inquiry is clearly established. I may remind the Council that when the Commission of 1882 was appointed, twenty-five years had elapsed since the educational policy had been laid down by the Despatch of 1854, and that lapse of time was considered sufficient to justify an inquiry. Twenty-five years have again elapsed since then, and therefore, I think the time has come when Government should direct a fresh inquiry into this question. If the Government will go so far as to say they will make an inquiry into the state of primary education — how far the policy recommended by the Commission of 1882 has been carried out and what new measures it will be desirable to take — that will substantially meet the requirements of the situation.

[1] Sir G. M. Chitnavis (1863-1929); represented the land-holders of the Central Provinces in the Imperial Legislative Council.

[2] Mr. H. O. Quin, I. C. S., Secretary, Bombay Government, and Bombay Government's representative in the Imperial Legislative Council.

My Lord, the second point that I think has been established is the absolute necessity of strengthening the position of Education among the Departments of the Government of India. Sir H. Stuart quoted from my evidence before the Decentralization Commission and referred to a superficial inconsistency. He says I advocate today that Education should be made a divided head instead of a Provincial head, but that before the Decentralization Commission I had said there should be no divided heads. That is true on the surface, but that is not fair; for you must take my scheme submitted to the Decentralization Commission as a whole. If you do so, then you will find that there need be no divided heads, for I have advocated a large measure of financial independence to Local Governments and under that scheme Local Governments will be able to find the money. But as long as the present excessive centralization continues, the Government of India must take the responsibility of finding money upon themselves so that the money should be forthcoming. If the Government of India become directly responsible for the spread of education in the country, then I am quite sure that more money will be spent. Under existing arrangements, if the Government of India are able to spare any money for education, they make small grants spasmodically to Local Governments for the purpose. What is needed however is a large programme constantly kept in view and steadily carried out, and this can only be secured if education is a direct concern of the Government of India.

The Government having promised that his (Gokhale's) scheme would be examined, Gokhale said : Yes, my Lord, in view of the remarks which have just been made by the Hon'ble the Home Member, I am prepared to withdraw my resolution.

[The resolution was withdrawn.]

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL*

At the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council, held on Thursday, the 16th *March* 1911, *Gokhale asked for leave to introduce his Bill designed to make better provision for the extension of elementary education in India. In making the motion, he delivered the following speech* :

My Lord, I rise to ask for leave to introduce a Bill to make better provision for the extension of elementary education throughout India. Hon'ble Members will recollect that about this time last year, the Council considered a resolution which I had ventured to submit to its judgment, recommending that elementary education should gradually be made compulsory and free throughout the country, and that a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials should be appointed to frame definite proposals. In the debate, which ensued on the occasion, fifteen Members, including the Home Member,[1] the Home Secretary[2] and the Director-General of Education, took part. There was then no separate portfolio of Education, and educational interests rubbed shoulders with jails and the police, in the all-comprehensive charge of the Home Department. In the end, on an assurance being given by the Home Member that the whole question would be carefully examined by the Government, the resolution was withdrawn.

Twelve months, my Lord, have elapsed since then, and the progress which the question has made during the interval has not been altogether disappointing. In one important particular, indeed, events have moved faster than I had ventured to hope or suggest. One of the proposals urged by me on the Government last year was that Education should, to begin with, have a separate Secretary, and that eventually there should be a separate Member for Education in the Governor-General's Executive Council. The Government, however, have given us at one bound a full-fledged Department of Education, and the Hon'ble Mr. Butler[3] has already been placed in charge of it. My Lord, the Hon'ble Member's appointment to the new office has been received with general satisfaction, and it is recognized on all sides that he brings to his task a reputation for great practical capacity. What I value, however, even more than his practical capacity, is the fact the Indian sun has not dried the Hon'ble

* Printed as Appendix to this speech.

[1] See foot-note on p. 85.

[2] See foot-note on p. 85.

[3] Sir Spencer Harcourt Butler; Secretary to Famine Commission (1900-1901); Education Member, Governor-General's Executive Council (1910-1915); Lt.-Governor of Burma (1915); Lt.-Governor, U. P. (1918); Governor of U. P. (1921).

Member and that he has not yet shed those enthusiasms with which perhaps we all start in life, and without which no high task for the improvement of humanity has ever been undertaken. I think, my Lord, the creation of a separate portfolio for Education brings us sensibly nearer the time when elementary education shall be universal throughout India. That there is a strong demand for this in the country — a demand, moreover, daily growing stronger — may be gathered from the fact that, since last year's debate, the question has been kept well to the fore by the Indian Press, and that last December resolutions in favour of compulsory and free primary education were passed not only by the Indian National Congress at Allahabad, but also by the Moslem League, which held its sittings at Nagpur. On the Government side, too, the declaration made in the House of Commons last July by the Under-Secretary of State for India[1] that one of the objects of the creation of the new Education Department was to spread education throughout the country, the significant language employed by your Lordship[2] on the subject of education in your reply to the Congress address at the beginning of this year, and the Educational Conference, summoned by the Hon'ble Mr. Butler last month at Allahabad — all point to the fact that the Government are alive to the necessity of moving faster and that it will not be long before vigorous measures are taken in hand to ensure a more rapid spread of mass education in the land. The present thus is a singularly favourable juncture for submitting to the Council and the country the desirability of a forward move, such as my Bill proposes, and I earnestly trust the Council will not withhold from me the leave I ask to introduce the Bill.

My Lord, I expect the Government have now concluded their examination of my proposals of last year, and perhaps the Hon'ble Member will tell us today what conclusions have been arrived at. The part of the scheme to which I attached the greatest importance was that relating to the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the system of elementary education in the country, and that part is now embodied in the Bill which I wish to introduce today.

"*Educate Your Children*"

My Lord, an American legislator, addressing his countrymen more than half a century ago, once said that if he had the Archangel's trumpet, the blast

[1] Right Hon E. S. MONTAGU, P. C., M. P., later Secretary of State for India.

[2] "The educational problem is one, however, that the Government of India have taken in hand and the creation of a separate Department to deal with education may be regarded as an earnest of their intentions". This is what the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, said in his reply to the deputation led by Sir William Wedderburn, the 1910 Congress President, which waited on him in January 1911. The address presented to the Viceroy by the deputation had, among other things, drawn the Viceroy's attention to "the need of education" and pleaded for "a liberal increase in the expenditure on all branches of education" but specially elementary education. Gokhale who acted as private secretary to Sir William Wedderburn during his short stay in India to preside over the Congress was included in the deputation.

of which could startle the living of all nations, he would sound it in their ears and say : ' Educate your children, educate all your children, educate every one of your children.' The deep wisdom and passionate humanity of this aspiration is now generally recognized, and in almost every civilized country, the State today accepts the education of the children as a primary duty resting upon it. Even if the advantages of an elementary education be put no higher than a capacity to read and write, its universal diffusion is a matter of prime importance, for literacy is better than illiteracy any day, and the banishment of a whole people's illiteracy is no mean achievement. But elementary education for the mass of the people means something more than a mere capacity to read and write. It means for them a keener enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living. It means the greater moral and economic efficiency of the individual. It means a higher level of intelligence for the whole community generally. He who reckons these advantages lightly may as well doubt the value of light or fresh air in the economy of human health.

Our Literacy Proportion Very Low

I think it is not unfair to say that one important test of the solicitude of a Government for the true well-being of its people is the extent to which, and the manner in which, it seeks to discharge its duty in the matter of mass education. And judged by this test, the Government of this country must wake up to its responsibilities much more than it has hitherto done, before it can take its proper place among the civilized Governments of the world. Whether we consider the extent of literacy among the population, or the proportion of those actually at school, or the system of education adopted, or the amount of money expended, on primary education, India is far, far behind other civilized countries. Take literacy. While in India, according to the figures of the census of 1901, less than 6 per cent of the whole population could read and write, even in Russia, the most backward of European countries educationally, the proportion of literates at the last census was about 25 per cent, while in many European countries, as also the United States of America, and Canada and Australia, almost the entire population is now able to read and write. As regards attendance at school, I think it will be well to quote once more the statistics which I mentioned in moving my resolution of last year. They are as follows :

In the United States of America, 21 per cent of the whole population is receiving elementary education; in Canada, in Australia, in Switzerland, and in Great Britain and Ireland, the proportion ranges from 20 to 17 per cent; in Germany, in Austria-Hungary, in Norway and in the Netherlands the proportion is from 17 to 15 per cent; in France it is slightly above 14 per cent; in Sweden it is 14 per cent; in Denmark it is 13 per cent; in Belgium it is 12 per cent; in Japan it is 11 per cent; in Italy, Greece and Spain it ranges between 8 and 9 per cent; in Portugal and Russia it is between 4 and 5 per cent; whereas in British India it is only 1·9 per cent.

Primary Education in Other Countries

Turning next to the systems of education adopted in different countries, we find that while in most of them elementary education is both compulsory and free, and in a few, though the principle of compulsion is not strictly enforced or has not yet been introduced it is either wholly or for the most part gratuitous, in India alone it is neither compulsory nor free. Thus in Great Britain and Ireland, France, Germany, Switzerland, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United States of America, Canada, Australia and Japan, it is both compulsory and free, the period of compulsion being generally six years, though in some of the American States it is now as long as nine years. In Holland, elementary education is compulsory, but not free. In Spain, Portugal, Greece, Bulgaria, Servia and Rumania, it is free, and, in theory, compulsory, though compulsion is not strictly enforced. In Turkey, too, it is free and nominally compulsory, and in Russia though compulsion has not yet been introduced, it is for the most part gratuitous.

Lastly, if we take the expenditure on elementary education in different countries per head of the population, even allowing for different money values in different countries, we find that India is simply nowhere in the comparison. The expenditure per head of the population is the highest in the United States, being no less than 16*s*; in Switzerland, it is 13*s*. 8*d*. per head; in Australia, 11*s*. 3*d*; in England and Wales, 10*s*; in Canada, 9*s*. 8*d*.; in Scotland, 9*s*, $7\frac{1}{2}d$; in Germany, 6*s*. 10*d*.; in Ireland, 6*s*. 5*d*.; in the Netherlands, 6*s*. $4\frac{1}{2}d$.; in Sweden, 5*s*. 7*d*.; in Belgium, 5*s*. 4*d*.; in Norway, 5*s*. 1*d*.; in France, 4*s*. 10*d*; in Austria, 3*s*. $1\frac{1}{2}d$.; in Spain, 1*s*. 10*d*.; in Italy, 1*s*. $7\frac{1}{2}d$.; in Servia and Japan, 1*s*. 2*d*.; in Russia, $7\frac{1}{2}d$.; while in India, it is barely one penny !

Mass Education not a Western Idea

My Lord, it may be urged, and with some show of reason, that as mass education is essentially a Western idea and India has not been under Western influences for more than a century, it is not fair to compare the progress made by her with the achievements of Western nations in that field. I am not sure that there is really much in this view, for even in most Western countries, mass education is a comparatively recent development, and even in the East, we have before us the example of Japan, which came under the influence of the West less than half a century ago, and has already successfully adopted a system of universal education. Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that it is not fair to compare India with Western countries in this matter, no such objection can, I believe, be urged against a comparison of Indian progress with that made in the Philippines, or Ceylon, or Baroda. The Philippines came under American rule only thirteen years ago; it cannot be said that in natural intelligence or desire for education, the Philipinos are superior to the people of India; and yet the progress in mass education made in the Islands during this short period has been so great that it constitutes a remarkable tribute to

the energy and enthusiasm of American ideals. Under Spanish rule, there was no system of popular education in the Philippines. As soon as the Islands passed into the possession of the United States, a regular programme of primary education came to be planned and has been steadily adhered to. The aim is to make primary education universal. Instruction is free, and the education authorities advise compulsion, though no compulsory law has yet been enacted. So great, however, is the enthusiasm that has been aroused in the matter that many Municipalities have introduced compulsion by local ordinances. And though there is room for doubt if the ordinances are strictly legal, no question has been raised, and the people are acquiescing cheerfully in their enforcement. How rapidly things are advancing in the Philippines may be judged by the fact that in five years — from 1903 to 1908 — the number of pupils attending school more than doubled itself, having risen from 150,000 to 360,000. The proportion of children receiving instruction to the whole population of the Islands is now nearly 6 per cent as against 2 in British India.

Progress in Ceylon

The conditions of Ceylon approximate closely to those of Southern India, and the fact that it is directly administered by England as a Crown Colony need not make any difference in its favour. In regard to mass education, however, Ceylon is far ahead today of India. Elementary instruction in Ceylon is imparted by two classes of schools, Government and Aided, the Government schools covering about one-third, and the Aided schools two-thirds of the area. In Government schools, a system of compulsory attendance has long been in force, the defaulting parent being brought by the teacher before a Village Tribunal, who can inflict small fines. In 1901, a Committee was appointed by the Government to advise what steps should be taken to extend primary education in the Island and the Committee strongly recommended ' that Government should take steps to compel parents to give their children a good vernacular education. ' Again, in 1905, a Commission[1] was appointed to make further enquiries into the matter, and the recommendations of this body were accepted in the main by the Colonial Secretary. These recommendations were : (1) that attendance at school should be compulsory for boys during a period of six years in areas proclaimed by the Governor; (2) that no fees should be charged; (3) that girls' education should be pushed on vigorously; (4) that District and Divisional Committees should be constituted to look after the education of children in their areas; and (5) that the Road Tax should be handed over to these bodies to form the nucleus of an Education Fund. Action was first taken under the new scheme in 1908, when 16 Districts were proclaimed

[1] The Commission was appointed by the Ceylon Government to " inquire into and report on the Educational Question with a view to proposing practical steps to give effect to the suggestion contained in the report of the Committee appointed in 1901 to advise on the general question of imposing a cess for educational, medical and local requirements ". The Hon. Mr. H. Wace, C. M. G., was chairman (1905).

by the Governor; and the official report for 1909 thus speaks of its working: "There has been no difficulty so far, and there seems to be every reason to hope that none of the difficulties, which were anticipated by some of the managers of aided schools, will arise. It is hoped that in the course of the present year, it will be brought into working order in all the Districts." In 1909 the total number of pupils, attending primary schools in Ceylon, was 237,000, which gives a proportion of 6·6 per cent to the whole population of the Island.

Within the borders of India itself, the Maharaja of Baroda[1] has set an example of enthusiasm in the cause of education, for which he is entitled to the lasting gratitude of the people of the country. His Highness began his first experiment in the matter of introducing compulsory and free education into his State eighteen years ago in ten villages of the Amereli Taluka. After watching the experiment for eight years, it was extended to the whole taluka in 1901, and finally, in 1906, primary education was made compulsory and free throughout the State for boys between the ages of 6 and 12, and for girls between the ages of 6 and 10. The age-limit for girls has since been raised from 10 to 11. The last two Education Reports of the State explain with considerable fullness the working of the measure, and furnish most interesting reading. In 1909, the total number of pupils at school was 165,000, which gives a proportion of 8.6 per cent to the total population of the State. Taking the children of school-going age, we find that 79.6 per cent boys of such age were at school, as against 21.5 per cent in British India; while the percentage of girls was 47.6, as against our 4 per cent only. The total expenditure on primary schools in Baroda in 1909 was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees, which gives a proportion of about $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per head of the population, as against one penny in British India. The population of Baroda is drawn from the same classes as that of the adjoining British territories, and every day that passes sees the subjects of the Gaekwar outdistancing more and more British subjects in the surrounding districts.

Resort to Compulsion Unavoidable

My Lord, if the history of elementary education throughout the world establishes one fact more clearly than another, it is this, that without a resort to compulsion no State can ensure a general diffusion of education among its people. England, with her strong love of individualism, stood out against the principle of compulsion for as long as she could, but she had to give way in the end all the same. And when the Act of 1870, which introduced compulsion into England and Wales, was under discussion, Mr. Gladstone made a frank admission in the matter in language which I would like to quote to this Council.

[1] Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad, Ruler of Baroda State (1863-1938); His State took the lead in the whole country in introducing compulsory primary education, in Amreli District (1893) and later extended it to the whole State (1906); the separation of judicial and executive functions was another important reform carried out by him.

> "Well, sir," said he, "there is another principle and undoubtedly of the gravest character, which I can even now hardly hope — though I do hope after all that we had seen — is accepted on the other side of the House — I mean the principle that compulsion must be applied in some effective manner to the promotion of education. I freely and frankly own that it was not without an effort that I myself accepted it. I deeply regret the necessity. I think that it is a scandal and a shame to the country that in the midst of our, as we think, advanced civilisation, and undoubtedly of our enormous wealth, we should at this time of day be obliged to entertain this principle of compulsion. Nevertheless, we have arrived deliberately at the conclusion that it must be entertained, and I do not hesitate to say that, being entertained, it ought to be entertained with every consideration, with every desire of avoiding haste and precipitancy, but in a manner that shall render it effectual."

A Royal Commission, appointed in 1886 to report on the working of the measures adopted to make attendance at school compulsory in England and Wales, bore ungrudging testimony to the great effect which compulsion had produced on school attendance.

> "It is to compulsion," they wrote, "that the increase of the numbers on the roll is largely attributable. Among the witnesses before us, Mr. Stewart appears to stand alone in his opinion that, provided the required accommodation had been furnished, the result would have been much the same if attendance had not been obligatory. But to estimate fairly the influence which compulsion has had upon the great increase in the number of children attending school, we must speak of it under the three heads into which its operation may be divided. There is, first, the direct influence of compulsion. This is exerted over parents, who are indifferent to the moral and intellectual welfare of their children, who are very eager to obtain what advantage they can from their children's earnings, but who never look beyond. But, secondly, compulsion exercises an indirect influence. Many parents are apathetic, yield weakly to their children's wish not to go to school. But they are keenly alive to the disgrace of being brought before a Magistrate, the fear of which supplies a stimulus sufficient to make them do their duty in this respect. In addition the existence of a compulsory law has considerably affected public opinion and has done much to secure a larger school attendance by making people recognise that the State regards them as neglecting their duty if their children remain uneducated."

The Ceylon Commission of 1905, in dealing with the question whether attendance at school should be made compulsory, expressed themselves as follows :

> With the exception of one or two districts of the Island, little good will be done by any system which does not enforce compulsory attendance. The Dutch, who had an extensive and successful system of vernacular

schools throughout the portions of the Island which were under their rule, found it necessary to enforce attendance by fines, and did so regularly. Parents, throughout a large portion of the Island, exercise very little control over their children, and will leave them to do as they like in the matter of school attendance. The result is that, where there is no compulsion, boys attend very irregularly and leave school very early. That compulsory attendance is desirable we have no doubt.

Progress on Voluntary Basis Disappointing

My Lord, primary education has rested on a voluntary basis in this country for more than half a century, and what is the extent of the progress it has made during the time? For answer one has to look at the single fact that seven children out of eight are yet allowed to grow up in ignorance and darkness, and four villages out of five are without a school. During the last six or seven years, the pace has been slightly more accelerated than before, but, even so, how extremely slow it is, may be seen from what Mr. Orange says of it in the last quinquennial report, issued two years ago: 'But the rate of increase for the last twenty-five years or for the last five is more slow than when compared with the distance that has to be travelled before primary education can be universally diffused. If the number of boys at school continued to increase even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years, and even if there was no increase in population, even then several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school age were in school.' My Lord, I respectfully submit that this state of things must be remedied; that India must follow in the wake of other civilized countries in the matter, if her children are to enjoy anything like the advantages which the people of those countries enjoy in the race of life; that a beginning at least should now be made in the direction of compulsion; and that the aim should be to cover the whole field in the lifetime of a generation. When England introduced compulsion in 1870, about 43 per cent of her children of school-going age were at school, and ten years sufficed for her to bring all her children to school. When Japan took up compulsion, about 28 per cent of her school-going population was at school, and Japan covered the whole field in about twenty years. Our difficulties are undoubtedly greater than those of any other country, and our progress, even with the principle of compulsion introduced, is bound to be slower. But if a beginning is made at once and we resolutely press forward towards the goal, the difficulties, great as they are, will vanish before long, and the rest of the journey will be comparatively simple and easy.

Compulsion to be Enforced by Local Bodies

My Lord, it is urged by those who are opposed to the introduction of compulsion in this country that though the Gaekwar, as an Indian Prince, could force compulsion on his subjects without serious opposition, the British Government, as a foreign Government, cannot afford to risk the unpopularity which

the measure will entail. Personally I do not think that the fear which lies behind this view is justified, because the Government in Ceylon is as much a foreign Government as that in India, and in Ceylon the authorities have not shrunk from the introduction of compulsion. But to meet this objection, I am quite willing that the first steps in the direction of compulsion should be taken by our Local Bodies, which reproduce in British territory conditions similar to those which obtain in Feudatory States. And even here I am willing that the first experiment should be made in carefully selected and advanced areas only. When the public mind is familiarized with the idea of compulsion, the Government may take the succeeding steps without any hesitation or misgiving. In view, also, of the special difficulties, likely to be experienced in extending the principle of compulsion at once to girls, I am willing that, to begin with, it should be applied to boys only, though I share the opinion that the education of girls is with us even a greater necesssity than that of boys and I look forward to the time when compulsion will be extended to all children alike of either sex. To prevent injudicious zeal on the part of Local Bodies, even in so good a cause as the spread of elementary education, I am willing that ample powers of control should be retained by the Provincial and Imperial Governments in their own hands. What I earnestly and emphatically insist on, however, is that no more time should now be lost in making a beginning in this all important matter.

Main Provisions of Bill

My Lord, I now come to the Bill, which I hope the Council will let me introduce today, and I ask the indulgence of the Council while I explain briefly its main provisions. The Bill, I may state at once, has been framed with a strict regard to the limitations of the position, to which I have already referred. It is a purely permissive Bill, and it merely proposes to empower Municipalities and District Boards, under certain circumstances, to introduce compulsion within their areas, in the first instance, in the case of boys, and later, when the time is ripe, in the case of girls. Before a Local Body aspires to avail itself of the powers contemplated by the Bill, it will have to fulfil such conditions as the Government of India may by rule lay down as regards the extent to which education is already diffused within its area. Last year, in moving my resolution on this subject, I urged that where one-third of the boys of school-going age were already at school, the question of introducing compulsion might be taken up for consideration by the Local Body. I think this is a fair limit, but if the Government of India so choose, they might impose a higher limit. In practice, a limit of 33 per cent will exclude for several years to come all District Boards, and bring within the range only a few of the more advanced Municipalities in the larger towns in the different Provinces. Moreover, a Local Body, even when it satisfies the limit laid down by the Government of India, can come under the Bill only after obtaining previously the sanction of the Local Government. I submit, my Lord, that these are ample

safeguards to prevent any ill-considered or precipitate action on the part of a Local Body.

Compulsory Four-Year Period

Then the Bill provides for a compulsory period of school attendance of four years only. Most countries have a period of six years, and even Ceylon and Baroda provide six years; Italy, which began with three, and Japan, which began with four years, have also raised their period to six years. But considering that the burden of additional expenditure involved will in many cases be the principal determining factor in this matter, I am content to begin with a compulsory period of four years only.

Provision for Exemptions

The next point to which I would invite the attention of the Council is that the Bill makes ample provision for exemption from compulsory attendance on reasonable grounds, such as sickness, domestic necessity or the seasonal needs of agriculture. A parent may also claim exemption for his child on the ground that there is no school within a reasonable distance from his residence, to which he can send the child without exposing him to religious instruction to which he objects; and a distance of one mile is laid down as a reasonable distance. This, however, is a matter of detail, which, perhaps, may better be left to Local Governments. When a Local Body comes under the Bill, the responsibility is thrown upon it to provide suitable school accommodation for the children within its area, in accordance with standards which may be laid down by the Education Department of the Local Government.

On the question of fees, while I am of opinion that, where attendance is made compulsory, instruction should be gratuitous, the Bill provides for gratuitous instruction only in the case of those children whose parents are extremely poor, not earning more than Rs. 10 a month, all above that line being required to pay or not in the discretion of the Local Body. This is obviously a compromise, rendered necessary by the opposition offered by so many Local Governments to the proposal of abolishing fees in primary schools, on the ground that it means an unnecessary sacrifice of a necessary and useful income.

Machinery for Compulsion

Coming to the machinery for working the compulsory provisions, the Bill provides for the creation of special school attendance committees, whose duty it will be to make careful enquiries and prepare and maintain lists of children who should be at school within their respective areas, and take whatever steps may be necessary to ensure the attendance of children at school, including the putting into operation of the penal clauses of the Bill against defaulting parents. The penal provisions, it will be seen, are necessarily light. To ensure the object of the Bill being fulfilled, the employment of child labour below the age of ten is prohibited, and penalty is provided for any infringement of the provision.

Division of Cost

Lastly, it is provided that the Government of India should lay down by rule the proportion in which the heavy cost of compulsory education should be divided between the Local Government and the Local Body concerned, it being assumed that the Supreme Government will place additional resources at the disposal of the Local Government, to enable it to defray its share, the Local Body being on its side empowered to levy a special Education Rate, if necessary, to meet its share of the expenditure. It is obvious that the whole working of this Bill must depend in the first instance upon the share, which the Government is prepared to bear, of the cost of compulsory education, wherever it is introduced. I find that in England the Parliamentary grant covers about two-thirds of the total expenditure on elementary schools. In Scotland it amounts to more than that proportion, whereas in Ireland it meets practically the whole cost. I think we are entitled to ask that in India at least two-thirds of the new expenditure should be borne by the State.

Bill only a First Step on a Long Journey

This, my Lord, is briefly the whole of my Bill. It is a small and humble attempt to suggest the first steps of a journey, which is bound to prove long and tedious, but which must be performed, if the mass of our people are to emerge from their present condition. It is not intended that all parts of the Bill should be equally indispensable to the scheme, and no one will be more ready than myself to undertake any revision that may be found to be necessary in the light of helpful criticism. My Lord, if I am so fortunate as to receive from the Council the leave I ask at its hands, it will probably be a year before the Bill comes up here again for its future further stages. Meanwhile, its consideration will be transferred from this Council to the country, and all sections of the community will have ample apportunities to scrutinize its provisions with care. My Lord, this question of a universal diffusion of education in India depends, almost more than any other question, on the hearty and sympathetic co-operation of the Government and the leaders of the people. The Government must, in the first instance, adopt definitely the policy of such diffusion as its own, and it must, secondly, not grudge to find the bulk of the money, which will be required for it, as Governments in most other civilized countries are doing. And this is what we are entitled to ask at the hands of the Government in the name of justice, for the honour of the Government itself, and in the highest interests of popular well-being. The leaders of the people, on their side, must bring to this task high enthusiasm, which will not be chilled by difficulties, courage, which will not shrink from encountering unpopularity, if need be, and readiness to make sacrifices, whether of money or time or energy, which the cause may require. I think, my Lord, if this Bill passes into law, the educated classes of the country will be on their trial. It is my earnest hope that neither they nor the Government will fail to rise to the requirements of this essentially modest and cautious measure. My Lord, one

great need of the situation, which I have ventured again and again to point out in this Council for several years past, is that the Government should enable us to feel that, though largely foreign in personnel, it is national in spirit and sentiment; and this it can only do by undertaking towards the people of India all those responsibilities, which national Governments in other countries undertake towards their people. We, too, in our turn, must accept the Government as a national Government, giving it that sense of security which national Governments are entitled to claim, and utilizing the peace and order, which it has established, for the moral and material advancement of our people. And of all the great national tasks which lie before the country, and in which the Government and the people can co-operate to the advantage of both, none is greater than this task of promoting the universal diffusion of education in the land, bringing by its means a ray of light, a touch of refinement, a glow of hope into lives that sadly need them all. The work, I have already said, is bound to be slow, but that only means that it must be taken in hand at once. If a beginning is made without further delay, if both the Government and the people persevere with the task in the right spirit, the whole problem may be solved before another generation rises to take our place. If this happens, the next generation will enter upon its own special work with a strength which will be its own security of success. As for us, it will be enough to have laboured for such an end — laboured even when the end is not in sight. For, my Lord, I think there is not only profound humility but also profound wisdom in the faith which says :

'I do not ask to see the distant scene :
One step enough for me.'

Gokhale's Reply

Replying at the same meeting to the criticisms which were offered in the course of the debate, Gokhale spoke as follows :

Government Attitude not Unfriendly

Sir, I have surely no reason to be dissatisfied with the reception which the Bill has met with at the hands of the Members of the Council. No man has the right to expect — and I certainly did not expect — that any proposals that he brings forward on a subject of such importance would be accepted by a body like this Council without any criticism; and if I rise, Sir, just now, to speak a second time, it is for two reasons. In the first place, I wish to express my sense of obligation to the Hon'ble Mr. Butler personally, and to the Government of India generally, for the attitude they have adopted towards this Bill. The attitude is no doubt cautious but it is not unfriendly, and it certainly goes as far as I had ventured to expect — I had not expected that it would go further than that.

Misconceptions About the Bill

The second reason why I wish to say a few words before this debate is brought to a close is that I want to clear certain misconceptions to which expression has been given today, about some of the provisions of the Bill, as also about my object in bringing the Bill forward. Sir, as I pointed out in the course of the remarks with which I asked for leave to introduce this Bill, if there is one fact established more clearly than another in the history of primary education, it is this, that, without compulsion, there can be no universal diffusion of education. You may shake your heads — anybody can shake his head — and say that the time for compulsion has not come; that we shall try the experiment on a voluntary basis; that we shall wait for some time; that we shall achieve here what nobody else has achieved elsewhere. Anybody may say this, but, as sure as we are here, as sure as we are discussing this question in this Council today, I say that everbody will in the end recognize that without compulsion it is impossible to secure the universal diffusion of education throughout the country. That being so, the only effective and proper course is to suggest that the Government should introduce compulsion. And if the Government of India had not been beset with its peculiar difficulties, I should have urged it to take up this question and introduce compulsion on its own account. But, as I have already observed, there are several considerations which render such a course difficult, if not impossible. And since that cannot be, I am content to proceed on other lines and to try a measure, such as I have brought forward today.

Sir, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Dadabhoy says that District Officers hold a very strong position on District Boards, and therefore, if this Bill is allowed to become law, District Officers, who may find no difficulty in getting the sanction of the Local Government, may use their position on the Boards to introduce compulsion. If this really happens, I say at once that I shall rejoice, because it will really mean that the Government will be accepting its own responsibility and introducing compulsion. I do want the Government to introduce compulsion if only it will do so; but as the Government will not do it, we have got to see what else we can do, and that is why I want this Bill.

Safeguards Against Hasty Resort to Compulsion

Sir, as far as I have been able to gather from today's discussion, hardship is apprehended in regard to three matters in carrying out the provisions of this Bill. The first is that District Boards, which are largely under official influence, might introduce compulsion, though the people may not be prepared for it. But I have already pointed out that the Government of India will first of all lay down the standard which must be satisfied by any local body before it introduces the principle of compulsion. I myself have suggested a limit of 33 per cent, but as the matter has been left to the Government of India, I think, if ever this Bill becomes law, that they are likely to adopt a higher limit than 33 per cent of the school-going population being at school. And a limit

of even 33 per cent, not only now but for several years to come, will not be satisfied by any District Board. It will no doubt be satisfied by several Municipalities, but that is another matter. Therefore I do not think that the fear expressed about hasty action by District Boards is well-founded. If after the country has been familiarized with the idea of compulsion for some time, district Boards also follow in the wake of Municipalities, I do not think that there would be any reason to regret such a development.

Then, Sir, a great deal has been said about the hardship which may be caused by empowering these bodies to levy a special education cess. My friends who have spoken have ignored the fact that the cess, when levied, is to be levied by the local bodies, and that it will require the sanction of the Local Government before it is levied. Those who say that the local bodies might consist of idealists and might be hasty in their action stand on a different footing from those who object to any special cess at all. To the former, I think it is a sufficient answer to point out that there is the Local Government to check idealism if there is any tendency in that direction.

But there are those who object to any cess at all, and they have strongly urged today that it would be a calamity, a disaster, if any cess is ever levied in order that primary education might be made compulsory. Sir, I am unable to accept this opinion. On the other hand, I feel strongly that, if primary education is ever to be compulsory, local bodies will have to bear a fairly large share of the burden which it will impose. This is the case in all countries where the system of compulsory education prevails; and those friends of mine who object to the levy of a cess might as well object to compulsory education and be done with it. I admire, Sir, my Hon'ble friend Mr. Dadabhoy's candour and consistency. Mr. Dadabhoy is against the levy of a local cess which may have to be imposed in order that the children of poor people may be educated. Mr. Dadabhoy the other day proposed that the excise duty on cotton goods should be done away with, not on the ground that its burden falls on the consumers who are the poorest of the poor, but because the amount, if added to the profits of the mill industry, will mean a better return for the mill-owners. Mr. Dadabhoy also wants unrestricted hours for factory labour for that means better dividends for capitalists. He is consistent all through; but his consistency need not appeal to this Council; and I think an attitude like his will hardly commend itself to those who wish well to the masses of the people. Sir, my fear is that, if this Bill ever becomes law, our financial difficulties will then only begin. It is not the cess that will constitute the real difficulty; it is the share that will have to be borne by the Government. The bulk of the money has to be found by the Finance Department of the Government of India, and I fear in the Hon'ble Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson[1] (I am sorry he is not in his place —I should have liked to say this in his presence) we shall probably find

[1] Right Hon'ble Sir GUY FLEETWOOD WILSON, Finance Member, Government of India (1908-1913); member, Committee on Army Reorganisation in England (1887); Financial Adviser to the Commander-in-Chief, South Africa; Director-General, Army Finance, U. K.

a dragon in the path. However, we shall have to agitate in this matter as in other matters, and I think an important lever has now been put into our hands by the Government by the creation of the new Education Department. Surely the Education Member must have something to do, and if he is to do anything, they must give him money to spend. I think that that will be our lever, and if we use the lever properly, the Government will find the money we want in the end. There is no reason why we should not entertain this hope. That is what every civilized Government is doing for its own people, and that is what we are entitled to expect from our Government.

The third fear expressed is about extending compulsion to girls at the present stage. Sir, I have already expressly stated that the intention is that the education of girls should for the present continue on a voluntary basis, though I certainly hope that before long the necessity of putting that education on the same footing as that of boys will be recognized, and the Bill only takes powers for that time when it comes. Remember that Baroda has compulsion even today for girls as well as boys. My Hon'ble friend Sir Sassoon David[1] says that the time for compulsion has not yet come. Will he tell us when the time for compulsion arrives? Will he tell us how and why it has arrived in Baroda and not in British territory ? Will he tell us how it has arrived in Ceylon and not in British territory ? Will he tell us why, when the Philippino Municipalities have introduced compulsion, our own Municipalities should not? Of course, if you merely assert that the time has not arrived and stop there, it is not possible to argue with you. The Hon'ble Mr. Butler declines to accept my analogies and says that the state of things in this country is different to what it is elsewhere; and as regards Baroda, he says that it is governed autocratically and that makes a great difference. Western countries will not do, because they are governed democratically! Baroda will not do, because it is governed autocratically! I suppose the Hon'ble Member will not be satisfied unless I produce the analogy of a country, governed bureaucratically; and as there is no other country governed as India is, he is safe in insisting on such an analogy, and I must say I give it up.

Sir, I will now address only two words in conclusion — one to the Government and the other to my non-official colleagues, and then resume my seat. To the Government I will merely put this question : Are you content to lag behind Baroda? Every day that passes, while Baroda has a system of compulsory education, and we have not — every day that passes like that, material is produced which will go to build up a judgment against you; and I am quite sure the conscience of the Government will, before long, be roused to this question. You may say what you like in defence of the existing situation; but you are bound to realize that you cannot lag behind Baroda, and I am convin-

[1] Sir SASSOON DAVID, head of Sassoon J. David and Co., Bombay, with branches at Hongkong, Shanghai and Kobe; Chairman, Bombay Millowners' Association; took a leading part in establishing the Bank of India; nominated to the Imperial Legislative Council as an expert in commercial matters.

ced that the question of compulsion is for us now only a question of time. To my non-official colleagues I will say this : if we are not prepared to bear a cess for educating the children of the mass of our own people, if we are not prepared to make sacrifices for so great an object, if we expect the money to drop from somewhere — and remember, even if the Government raise it by additional taxation, after all it is we who shall pay it — we may as well cease talking about improving the lot of the mass of the people. Sir, if we want our country to advance, there is only one way, and that is that the mass of the people in this country must be raised to a higher level. This can only be achieved by the spread of education, which in its turn requires a large expenditure of money. And a reasonable part of this money must be raised locally, as is being done in other countries, or else we may leave the matter well alone. Sir, I do not wish to say anything more. I once again beg to express my obligations to the Hon'ble Mr. Butler and to the Government for the attitude they have adopted towards this Bill, and I am also most grateful to those Hon'ble Members who have accorded this measure their cordial support.

[The motion was put and agreed to.]

Gokhale introduced the Bill and moved that the Bill, together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons relating thereto, be published in the *Gazette of India* in English and in the local official Gazettes in English and in such other languages as the Local Governments think fit.

[The motion was put and agreed to.]

APPENDIX

A
BILL
to

Make better provision for the extension of elementary education.

WHEREAS it is expedient to make better provision for the extension of elementary education: It is hereby enacted as follows —

1. (*1*) This Act may be called the Elementary Education Act, 1911.

Short title, commencement and extent.

(*2*) It shall come into force on [ ], but it shall not be operative except in the local areas to which it may be applied by a notification issued under section 3.

(*3*) It extends to the whole of British India.

[Elementary Education Act (England and Wales), 1870, sec. 3.]

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context —

Definition.

"parent" includes the guardian and every person who is liable to maintain or has the actual custody of any child;

"Department of Public Instruction" means the Department in charge of public instruction under the Local Government of the province in which the Municipality or District Board concerned is situated;

"recognised school" means a school recognised by the Department of Public Instruction;

"elementary education" means the courses in reading, writing and arithmetic, and other subjects, if any, prescribed from time to time by the Department of Public Instruction for elementary schools;

"District Board" includes a "District Local Board" and a "District Council";

"Magistrate" does not include a "village Magistrate."

3. Every Municipality or District Board may from time to time, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, by notification declare that this Act shall apply to the whole or any specified part of the area within the local limits of its authority, and the provisions of this Act shall apply to such area or part accordingly.

Notification of compulsory education areas.

4. In every area, to which this Act applies, it shall be the duty of the parent of every boy, not under six and not over ten years of age, residing within such area, to cause such boy to attend a recognised school for elementary education for so many days in the year and for such time on each day of attendance as may be

[Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 1 (*1*).]

Duty of parent to send child to school.

prescribed by the Department of Public Instruction, unless there is a reasonable excuse for the non-attendance of the boy.

Non-attendance when excusable.

5. Any of the following circumstances is a reasonable excuse for non-attendance — [Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 1 (3).]

(*a*) that there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile, measured along the nearest road, from the residence of the boy, which the boy can attend, and to which the parent has no objection, on religious grounds, to send the boy;

(*b*) that the child is prevented from attending school by reason of sickness, infirmity, domestic necessity, the seasonal needs of agriculture, or other sufficient cause;

(*c*) that the child is receiving instruction in some other satisfactory manner.

Prohibition of child's employment.

6. No person shall take into his employment any boy who ought to be at school under this Act. [Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 2 (1); Elementary Education Act (England and Wales), 1876, sec. 5.]

Duty of Local Body to provide sufficient school accommodation.

7. For every area to which this Act applies, the Municipality or District Board shall provide such school accommodation as the Department of Public Instruction considers necessary and sufficient.

Local Body may levy special education rate.

8. In any such area as aforesaid, the Municipality or District Board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, levy a special education rate, the proceeds of which shall be devoted exclusively to the provision of elementary education for the boys residing in the area.

Remission of school fees on ground of poverty.

9. (*1*) No fee shall be charged in respect of the instruction of a boy required to attend school under section 4 if the monthly income of the parent does not exceed Rs. 10.

(*2*) In every other case, the Municipality or District Board may, on the ground of poverty, or for other sufficient reason, remit the whole or any part of the fee payable by a parent on account of his boy required to attend school under section 4.

Appointment of School Attendance Committee.

10. (*1*) For every area to which this Act applies, the Municipality or District Board shall appoint a school attendance committee, to be constituted in such manner as may be prescribed by bye-laws framed in that behalf.

(*2*) It shall be the duty of the School Attendance Committee, subject to bye-laws framed in that behalf, to secure the attendance of every boy within its area that ought to be at school. [Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 3 (1).]

[Irish Education Act, 1892, sec 4 (1).]

11. (*1*) Whenever the School Attendance Committee is satisfied that a boy in its area that ought to attend school does not do so, it may, after due warning, make a complaint against the parent of the boy before a magistrate.

Complaint against parent.

(2) The magistrate shall, if satisfied of the truth of the complaint, issue an order directing the parent to cause the boy to attend school before a certain date.

Attendance order.

[Irish Education Act, 1892, sec. 4 (2).

12. (*1*) If such order is not complied with and the School Attendance Committee does not see any satisfactory cause for the non-compliance, it may prosecute the defaulting parent before a magistrate.

Prosecution of parent.

(2) The parent shall be liable, on conviction, to a fine not exceeding rupees two.

Penalty for non-compliance with attendance order.

13. In cases of repeated non-compliance, the parent shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding rupees ten.

Penalty for repeated non-compliance.

[Irish Education Act, 1892, secs. 5 and 6.]

14. (*1*) The School Attendance Committee may, after due warning, prosecute any employer who violates the provisions of section 6.

Employer's liability.

(2) Unless such employer is able to satisfy the Magistrate that there is no recognised school within a distance of one mile, measured along the nearest road, from the residence of the boy, or

that the time and nature of the boy's employment are such that he is not prevented from receiving elementary education at school, or

that the boy is receiving instruction in some other satisfactory manner, or

that the boy was employed under false representations as to age, residence and other conditions, or

without his knowledge and consent by an agent or workman under him, for whose prosecution he is willing to afford the necessary facilities,

he shall, on conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding rupees twenty.

[Irish Education Act. 1892, sec. 6. (1).]

15. When the act of taking a boy into employment in contravention of this Act is in fact committed by an agent or workman of the employer, that agent or workman shall be liable to the same penalty, in the same manner, and subject to the same conditions as if he were the employer.

Liability of employer's agent.

16. The Local Government may exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of this Act.

Exemption from compulsory education.

17. In any area in respect of which a notification has been issued under section 3, the Municipality or District Board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government and subject to such rules as the Governor-General in Council may make in this behalf, by notification declare that the foregoing provisions relating to boys, shall, from a date to be specified in the notification, apply also in the case of girls residing within such area, and the said provisions shall apply in the case of girls accordingly.

Application of Act to girls.

18. (*1*) The Governor-General in Council may make rules for carrying out the provisions of this Act.

Governor-General in Council to make rules.

(*2*) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power, such rules may provide for—

(*a*) the fixing of the percentage of boys, or of girls, who should be at school in an area before a notification in respect thereof may be issued under section 3 or section 17, as the case may be; and

(*b*) the prescribing of the proportions in which the cost of providing elementary education under this Act should be divided between the Municipality or District Board and the Local Government, as the case may be.

(*3*) The power to make rules under this section shall be subject to the condition of the rules being made after previous publication.

19. A Municipality or District Board may, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, make bye-laws prescribing—

Power to make bye-laws

(*a*) the manner in which the School Attendance Committee should be constituted, the number of its members, their duties and their mode of transacting business;

(*b*) the steps which the School Attendance Committee may take to secure the attendance of children at school.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The object of this Bill is to provide for the gradual introduction of the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of the country. The experience of other countries has established beyond dispute the fact that the only effective way to ensure a wide diffusion of elementary education among the mass of the people is by a resort to compulsion in some form or other. And the time has come when a beginning at least should be made in this direction in India. The Bill is of a purely permissive character and its provisions will apply only to areas notified by Municipalities or District Boards, which will have to bear such proportion of the increased expenditure, which will be necessitated, as may be laid down by the Government of India by rule. Moreover no area can be notified without the previous sanction of the Local Government, and further it must fulfil the test which the Government of India may, by rule, lay down, as regards the percentage of children already at school within its limits. Finally the provisions are intended to apply in the first instance only to boys, though later on a Local Body may extend them to girls; and the age limits proposed are only six and ten years. It is hoped that these are sufficient safeguards against any rash or injudicious action on the part of Local Bodies. The measure is essentially a cautious one — indeed, to some it may appear to err too much on the side of caution.

The provisions of the Bill are based largely on the Irish Education Act of 1892 and the English Education Acts of 1870 and 1876.

Clauses 1 and 2 call for no remark.

Clause 3 provides for the application of the provisions of the Bill to notified areas.

Clause 4 imposes on the parent or guardian of a boy in a notified area, between the ages of six and ten, the obligation to cause him to attend a recognised elementary school in the absence of a reasonable excuse, and clause 5 lays down what circumstances may constitute a reasonable excuse.

Clause 6 prohibits the employment, by employers of labour, of a boy who should be at school under the provisions of the Bill.

Clause 7 requires Municipalities and District Boards to provide sufficient school accommodation in a notified area, and clause 8 empowers them, subject to the previous sanction of the Local Governments, to levy a special education rate.

Clause 9 provides for the exemption of poor parents and guardians from the payment of school fees for their boys.

Clause 10 provides for the appointment of School Attendance Committees in notified areas.

Clauses 11 to 15 provide penalties and the proceedings to be taken for their enforcement in the case of parents and guardians, failing, without reasonable excuse, to cause their boys to attend school, as required by the Bill, and of employers and their agents or workmen, acting in contravention of the provisions of the Bill.

Clause 16 enables the Local Government to exempt particular classes or communities from the operation of the Bill.

Clause 17 provides for the extension of the provisions of the Bill to girls between the ages of six and ten.

Clauses 18 and 19 provide for the making of rules by the Government of India and of bye-laws by Local Bodies.

28th *February* 1911 G. K. GOKHALE

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION BILL

On Monday, the 18th *March* 1912, *Gokhale moved that his Bill to make better provision for the extension of elementary education be referred to a Select Committee consisting of Mr. Syed Ali Imam*[1], *Sir Harcourt Butler*[2], *Mr. Mazharul Haque*[3], *Nawab Saiyid Muhammad*[4], *Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu*[5], *Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya*[6], *Mr. Gates*[7], *Sir James Meston*[8], *Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar*[9], *Mr. Sharp*[10], *Mr. Lyon*[11], *Mr. Carr, Mr. Arthur, Khan Bahadur Mian Muhammad Shafi and the mover. In making the motion, he spoke as follows :*

Bill's Public Reception Satisfactory

It is two years today since the Council was invited in its very first session after the introduction of the recent reforms to consider a recommendation

[1] Sir SAIYID ALI IMAM, Barrister-at-Law; member, Bengal Legislative Council (1910); Law Member, Government of India (1910-15); judge, Patna High Court (1917); member, Bihar and Orissa executive council (1918-19).

[2] See foot-note on p. 90.

[3] Mr. MAZHARUL HAQUE, one of the founders of the All-India Muslim League (1906); elected to the Imperial Legislative Council (1909); a staunch supporter of the Indian National Congress.

[4] NAWAB SAIYID MUHAMMAD BAHADUR (1869-1916); Member, Madras and Imperial Legislative Councils; President, Indian National Congress (1913); general secretary, Indian National Congress (1915-16); champion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

[5] Mr. BHUPENDRA NATH BASU : Chairman, Reception Committee, Indian National Congress (1911); an elected member, first of the Bengal Legislative Council and later of the Imperial Legislative Council; President, Indian National Congress (1914); member, Council of India.

[6] Pandit MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA (1861-1946); founder, Banaras Hindu University (1916); member, U. P. Legislative Council (1902); member, Imperial Legislative Council (1910); President, Indian National Congress (1909, 1918 and 1933); one of the founders of the Hindu Mahasabha and presided over its sessions held at Allahabad (1924) and Poona (1935); attended the Indian Round Table Conference in London (1931).

[7] Mr. GATES, Financial Commissioner of Burma, and Burma's representative on the Imperial Legislative Council.

[8] Sir JAMES (later Baron) MESTON, I. C. S. (1865-1943); Finance Secretary, Government of India (1907); Lt.-Governor, U. P. (1912-17); Finance Member, Government of India (1918-19); President, Liberal Party Organisation in U. K. (1936); Chairman, National Liberal Party Organisation in U.K. (1936); Chairman, National Liberal Club, London, for many years.

[9] Mr. R. N. MUDHOLKAR (1857-1921); Secretary, Berar Sarvajanik Sabha (1886-98); joined Indian National Congress (1898); general secretary, Indian Industrial Conference from its very start and presided over its fourth session (1908); President, Indian National Congress (1912).

[10] Mr. H. SHARP, Director, Public Instruction, East Bengal and Assam (1906); joint secretary, Education Department, Government of India (1910); additional member, Imperial Legislative Council (1911); Educational Commissioner with the Government of India (1915).

[11] Mr. P. C. LYON, I. C. S., member, Board of Revenue, Eastern Bengal and Assam and member, Imperial Legislative Council (1909-1912); member, Bengal executive council (1912).

to the Governor-General in Council that a beginning should now be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory throughout the country, and that a mixed Commission of officials and non-officials should be appointed to frame definite proposals. After a lengthy debate, the motion was by leave withdrawn, but the principal suggestions formulated on the occasion were subsequently embodied in a Bill which was introduced in this Council about this time last year. A year has since elasped, and during the interval, all sides — the Government and the public, officials and non-officials, members of all classes and creeds — have had time to examine the provisions of the Bill. I think the promoters of the measure are entitled to regard with the utmost satisfaction the reception which the Bill has met with in the country; for, my Lord, it is no exaggeration to say that no measure of our time has received such weighty, such enthusiastic, such overwhelming public support as the Bill now before the Council. My Lord, it has been made abundantly clear in the course of the discussions that have taken place during the year that most men of light and leading in the country — men distinguished in every walk of life, in learning, in professions, in business, in public affairs, in patriotic or philanthropic endeavour — are on the side of the Bill. The Indian National Congress,[1] the most representative body of educated opinion in India, has strongly supported the measure, and Provincial Conferences held in the different Provinces have also done the same. The Moslem League, whose claim to speak in the name of the great community which it represents is not disputed even by officials, accorded only a fortnight ago its cordial support to the Bill; and most of its branches throughout the country have also expressed their approval. Most of the local bodies consulted by Provincial Governments, as also the Senate of Madras University, which was the only University Senate consulted, have expressed themselves in favour of the measure. Public meetings held in nearly every important town throughout the country have adopted resolutions in its support, and numerous special meetings of backward communities, several caste conferences and some missionary organisations have done the same. Then, my Lord, the Indian Press in the country with hardly an exception has with striking unanimity ranged itself on the side of the Bill, and what is even more significant, nearly half the Anglo-Indian Press, the *Indian Daily News* in Calcutta, *The Times of India* in Bombay, and the *Madras Mail* and the *Madras Times* in Madras, have also extended to it their valuable support. Last, my Lord, but not least, I must mention the important deputation — headed by no less a man than Lord Courtney[2] —that waited last year on

[1] Resolution on Elementary Education passed by the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress held in December 1911 ran : That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of the Bill in the Council.

[2] LEONARD HENRY COURTNEY, FIRST BARON COURTNEY OF Penwith (1832-1918); professor of political economy, University College, London (1872-75); entered Parliament (1875); Undersecretary, Home Affairs (1880); Secretary to the Treasury (1882); an opponent of the ' for-ward ' policy in Egypt, the Sudan and South Africa; member, Welby Commission (1897).

the Secretary of State and presented to him a memorial signed among others by some very distinguished men in England in support of this Bill. I venture to think that the ultimate success of a measure which has received such widespread, such influential, public support, is practically assured. The main opposition to this Bill has come from official quarters with which I will deal later.

Slight Non-Official Dissent

Here and there a few non-officials have also struck a note of dissent. But, my Lord, considering the far-reaching character of the issues involved in the measure, and considering also how the human mind is constituted, it is not to be wondered at that there has been this slight dissent; the wonder rather is that there should be this vast volume of public opinion in support of the measure. The non-official critics of the Bill may roughly be divided into three classes. To the first class belong those very few men — so few indeed that they may be counted on one's fingers — who have rendered distinguished services in the past either to the country as a whole or to their own community, whose claim to be heard with respect on such questions is undisputed, and who, though not against free and compulsory education in the abstract, consider that the introduction of such a system in India at the present stage of the country's progress, even with such safeguards as are provided in the Bill, is not desirable. My Lord, these elders, whose minds have been cast in the mould of a previous generation, have not the elasticity to advance with the advancing requirements of the country, and we have got to face their disapproval of the present Bill with reluctance and regret. In the wake of these few elders follow a number of younger men, who unquestionably accept their lead in all matters, and who therefore withhold their support for the present Bill.

The second class consists of those who cannot understand either the necessity or the value of mass education, to whom the dignity of man as man is an incomprehensible idea, and who regard the poorer classes of the country as made solely to serve those who are above them. My Lord, these men hold these views, because they know no better, but their opposition to this Bill is perfectly intelligible. In the third class come those who are against this Bill because the bulk of officials are understood to be against it. They are against this Bill either because the officials have so much to give or else because they are so constituted that official favour is to them as the breath of their nostrils and an official frown is a heavy misfortune, and because they think nothing of bartering the birthright of our common humanity for something even less substantial than the proverbial mess of pottage. These, my Lord, are the three classes that are against this Bill. Taking all the non-official opponents of the Bill together, I think that their number does not exceed five per cent, at the outside of those who have expressed any opinion on the Bill.

Local Bodies Strongly Favour Bill

My Lord, special weight necessarily attaches first to the opinions of Local Governments, and next to those of local bodies in regard to this Bill. Turning

first to the local bodies, I regret that the opinions of all such bodies were not either ascertained or have not been forwarded to the Government of India. In view of the fact that, if the Bill became law, the initiative in regard to its working would have to come from local bodies, it was of the utmost importance to know what the local bodies had to say of the Bill. The Government of Madras is the only Government that has deemed it to be its duty to invite the opinions of all Municipalities and District Boards in the Province, and some of the District Boards have in their turn invited the opinions of the Taluka Boards under them. The opinions thus elicited are appended to the letter of the Madras Government, and they afford overwhelming and incontestable evidence of the local bodies in Madras being strongly in favour of the Bill and being ready to avail themselves of its provisions if enacted into law. Of 61 Municipalities whose opinions have been recorded, 55 are in favour of the Bill. Of 24 District Boards, 20 are in favour. In addition, the opinions of 39 Taluka Boards have been ascertained, and they are one and all in favour of the Bill.

The next Government in whose papers we find mention of a large number of local bodies in this connection is the Government of the Punjab, unfortunately educationally the most backward Province in the whole country. Here we find that 60 Municipalities are mentioned by name, and of those 32 are in favour and 28 against. In addition, the Deputy Commissioner of Umballa wrote (the local bodies in Umballa are not included among these 60) : ' The consensus of opinion appears to be strongly in favour of the principle of compulsion; the only Municipal Committee which does not favour compulsion was the Municipal Committee of Jagadhri. ' The Deputy Commissioner of Hissar wrote : ' All the Municipalities of this District, as well as the District Board, have expressed themselves in favour of the Bill. ' The Deputy Commissioner of Ferozepore wrote : ' I have consulted the District Board and the Municipalities in this district; they all consider the Bill fair, and are in favour of its being passed into law.' Nineteen District Boards are mentioned in the papers, of whom 6 are in favour of compulsion and 13 against. Considering the extremely backward condition of primary education in rural Punjab, this is not surprising.

Turning next to Bengal, we find mention made in the reports of local officers of about 25 Municipalities, of whom 19 are in favour and 6 against. Also there is mention of two District Boards, of whom one is in favour and one against. There is no mention of the remaining local bodies in the Bengal papers. In the Eastern Bengal and Assam papers, we find 4 Municipalities mentioned, of whom 3 are in favour; also 6 District Boards, of whom 5 are in favour. For Burma the opinions of 16 Municipalities are given, of whom 9 are in favour.

The letter of the Bombay Government mentions no local body, but the opinion of the Bombay Corporation was circulated among the members here only two days ago. However, in the report of the Commissioner of the

Central Division which accompanies the letter, there is mention made of 6 Municipalities in that Division, all in favour. And we know for a fact that most of the Municipalities and a great many of the District Boards in Bombay are in favour of this Bill.

In the papers belonging to the United Provinces, only 2 small Municipalities are mentioned, both in favour. Here also we know from the newspapers that most of the Municipalities and a large number of the District Boards are in favour of this Bill. The Central Provinces papers mention only two local bodies — the Municipality of Nagpur and the District Board of Nagpur — of both which bodies my friend behind me is President. Both these bodies are in favour of the Bill. There are besides memoranda from five individual members of different local bodies, of whom four are in favour.

Presidency Municipalities' Strong Support

Turning to what are known as the Presidency Municipalities, namely, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Rangoon, we find that Calcutta and Madras are strongly in favour of the Bill. Rangoon declines to express an opinion on the ground that it does not want to be saddled with any expenditure connected with elementary education. The Municipality of Bombay, while in favour of free and compulsory education, and while also in favour of the ultimate introduction of compulsion throughout the country, is unable to approve the special method which is advocated in the Bill, namely, that the initiative should be left to local bodies. But, my Lord, those who know the singular position which the Bombay Municipal Corporation occupies in regard to expenditure on elementary education will at once understand why that body has taken up that attitude. Under an agreement, which is now embodied in an Act of the local legislature, the Bombay Corporation has undertaken to bear the entire cost of primary education within municipal limits in Bombay on condition of being relieved of police charges, the only qualification being that if ever the Government introduces compulsory education in the country and requires the Bombay Corporation to introduce compulsion within its area, the Corporation should receive financial assistance from the Government similar to what other local bodies would receive. The plain financial interest of the Bombay Corporation therefore is not in leaving the initiative to local bodies but in the initiative coming from the Government, and it is no surprise that the Corporation of Bombay is unable to approve of a method which leaves the initiative to local bodies. Before passing from this point, I would respectfully warn the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education against leaning on the opinion of the Bombay Corporation for support, for that Corporation, in addition to being in favour of the principle of free and compulsory education, wants the cost of it to come out of Imperial Funds !

Analysis of Official Opinions

Turning next to the opinions of Local Governments, I would like first of all to present to the Council a brief analysis of the official opinions that have

been sent up by the various Local Governments. Among these papers there are altogether 234 official opinions recorded; of them 90 are in favour of the Bill. Sixty-five of the 234 officials are Indian officials, and of them 39 support the Bill, some of them being very high officials, such as High Court Judges, District Magistrates, District Judges, and so forth. Of the English officials, there are 169 opinions recorded, of which 51 are in favour — a minority no doubt, but still a very respectable minority.

Before proceeding further, I think I had better explain what I mean by a person being in favour of the principle of the Bill so as to prevent misapprehension of the language which I am employing. My Lord, the principle of the Bill is to introduce compulsion at once in selected areas. Not all over the country, but in selected areas; not at some remote time, but at once. To make a beginning at once in selected areas, the initiative being left to local bodies — that is the fundamental idea of the Bill. All else is a matter of detail. Some of the details are important, others unimportant. The question of a local education rate, the question whether education is to be absolutely free, or free for poor people only, the proportion of cost which the Government is to bear — all these are important matters, but matters of detail capable of adjustment when the final settlement of the scheme takes place.

Respectable European Official Minority's Support

Now, all those who are in favour of the fundamental part of the Bill, I claim to be in favour of the Bill for my present purpose; all those, on the other hand, who cannot assent to it, against the Bill. Now, in Madras, the opinions of no European officials are given, the only exception being that of two European High Court Judges, who are both in favour of the Bill. In Bombay, out of 19 European officials consulted, 8 are in favour, one of them being the Director of Public Instruction, and 2 being Inspectors of Schools for the Presidency proper (the 3rd Inspector, an Indian, being also in favour), 2 Commissioners of Divisions out of 3 in the Presidency proper, and 3 Collectors.

In Bengal, out of 21 European officers consulted, 4 are in favour, all being District Magistrates. In Eastern Bengal and Assam, out of 21, 2 are in favour, both being District Magistrates. In the United Provinces out of 38 officers consulted, 6 are in favour, 1 of them being a High Court Judge, 1 a Commissioner, and 4 Collectors. In the Punjab, out of 38 European officers consulted, no less than 20 are in favour of the Bill — the largest proportion of European officers in favour of the Bill thus, strangely enough, coming from the Punjab. Among these 20, there is 1 Financial Commissioner, 1 Commissioner, 9 Deputy Commissioners, 5 Divisional Judges, 3 District Judges and 1 Sub-Divisional Officer. In the Central Provinces, only 4 official opinions are given, out of which 2 are in favour, both being Commissioners of Divisions. On the whole, my Lord, I claim that a very respectable minority of European officials is in favour of the measure.

Three Classes of Official Opponents

The officials who are opposed to this Bill may roughly be divided into three classes. First come a few Rip Van Winkles who appear to be sublimely unconscious as to what is going on not only in the rest of the world, but in India itself. To this class also belong a few cynics who do not understand the value of mass education, and who naively ask what good mass education has done anywhere. I was astonished to find among this class an Inspector of Schools in Madras. The very least that a kind Government can do for him is to transfer him to some more congenial Department, say, the Department of Forests. To the second class belong those who see in a wide diffusion of elementary education a real danger to British rule; also those who are against mass education, because they are against all popular progress, and who imagine in their shortsightedness that every step gained by the people is one lost by them. In the third class — and I am glad to say the bulk of the official opinions recorded belong to this class — are those who accept the necessity and the importance of mass education, who accept the policy which has been repeatedly laid down by the Government of India during a period of more than 60 years, but who do not recognise the necessity of compulsion at the present moment. They think that a great part of the educational field has to be covered on a voluntary basis, that compulsion would be inexpedient, and would lead to hardship, to discontent, and to danger. Some of them object to this measure on educational or on financial grounds.

Local Governments' Opposition : (i) Madras

The outstanding feature of the official opposition to the Bill is however the fact that every Local Government that was consulted on this Bill has gone against the measure, and that makes it necessary that we should examine the opinions of Local Governments and the objections raised by them in some detail. The only Local Government that comes very near to supporting the principle of the Bill is the Government of Madras. Not that that Government does not regard the Bill as objectionable or argue against it. What distinguishes it, however, from the other Local Governments is that it does not ignore the strength of the case in favour of the Bill, and that it does not argue as though the heavens would fall if the Bill were passed into law. After urging several objections against the Bill the Madras Government says at the close of its letter that if the Government of India were disposed to accept this Bill, it would like it to be confined for the present to municipal areas only. The answer to that is that it would be entirely in the hands of the Government of India and the Local Governments to so confine it for the present. The Government of India could lay down such a proportion of school attendance to the total school-going population as a necessary preliminary test to be satisfied before compulsion is introduced, that thereby only Municipalities and not District Boards could for the present come under the Bill. Moreover, if any rural area wanted to try the measure, the Local Government could withhold

its sanction. This opinion of the Madras Government, again, is the opinion of three members out of four. The fourth member, the late Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer,[1] one of the most brilliant men of our day, a man whose untimely death had made a gap in the ranks of public workers in the country, which it will take long to fill, has written a masterly minute of dissent, giving his whole-hearted support to the Bill and demolishing the objections urged by his colleagues against the measure.

(*ii*) *C. P. Government*

The next Local Government that comes, in a grudging manner and in spite of itself, to a conclusion not wholly dissimilar to that of the Madras Government is the Administration of the Central Provinces. After exhausting everything that can possibly be said against the Bill, that Government says in the end that if the Government of India wanted to try the Bill, it might be tried in a few selected municipal areas only. Only it does not want a general Act of this Council for the whole country, but it would like an amendment to be undertaken of the various Provincial Municipal Acts for the purpose; and it would lay down a condition, that only those Municipalities should be allowed to introduce compulsion which are prepared to bear the whole cost of compulsion themselves! Now, my Lord, if the object we have in view can be attained by amending Provincial Local Self-Government Acts, I for one have no objection whatever. All I want is that local bodies should have the power to introduce compulsion, where a certain condition of things has been reached, under the control and with the assistance of Local Governments. But I do not understand why the Central Provinces Government should lay down that condition that local bodies, wanting to introduce compulsion, should bear the entire cost themselves. I can understand a Local Government saying that it cannot finance any scheme of compulsion out of its own resources. But I cannot understand why the Central Provinces Administration should try to impose such a condition unless it be to punish those Municipalities which show special keenness for education in their areas. I am quite sure that that was not the meaning of the Local Government, and therefore I must frankly say I do not understand why this condition has been laid down.

(*iii*) *Bengal Government*

The Government of Bengal sees no objection *per se* to the principle of compulsory elementary education, only it thinks that, considering the apathy of the people at the present moment, compulsion is not suitable. Moreover, it says, that if it is called upon to introduce compulsion in the near future, it will

[1] V. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR (1863-1911); lawyer and educationist; founder of an Ayurvedic College of Medicine and the free Venkataraman dispensary at Madras (1905), the Madras Sanskrit College (1906) and the Indian Bank (1906); President, Madras Provincial Conference (1906); organised the Madras Congress (1908); Judge, Madras High Court (1909); member, Madras executive council (1911); Syndic, Madras University.

not be able to find the money out of Provincial revenues and that it would be forced to look to the Government of India for assistance. The Governments of Eastern Bengal and the Punjab oppose the Bill merely on general grounds, the letter of the Government of Eastern Bengal being almost perfunctory in its treatment of the subject.

(*iv*) *U. P. Government*

The letter of the United Provinces Government is a document that might have been written with some excuse 20 years ago. I cannot understand how a Provincial Government, at the beginning of the 20th century, can put forth arguments such as are contained in the letter of the acting Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces.

The Government of Burma opposes the Bill on grounds the very reverse of those on which other Local Governments oppose it. Other Local Governments oppose the Bill because there is not a sufficient advance made in the field of elementary education in their Provinces; but the Government of Burma opposes the Bill because there is already a sufficiently large advance of elementary education in that Province!

(*v*) *Bombay Government*

The last Government that I would mention in this connection is the Government of Bombay. My Lord, this Government is the strongest opponent of the Bill, and I feel bound to say — though it hurts my provincial pride to have to say so — that the very vehemence with which this Government argues the case against the Bill is calculated to defeat its own purpose, and that the terms of impatience in which its letter is couched, while not adding to the weight to the argument, only suggests a feeling of resentment that any non-official should have ventured to encroach on a province which it regards as an official monopoly.

Local Governments' Objections Examined

My Lord, it will be convenient to deal with the objections, which have been raised by the several Local Governments, all together. Before doing so, however, I think I should state briefly again to the Council the case for the Bill, so that members should see the grounds for and against the Bill side by side before them. My Lord, the policy of the Government of India in this matter, as I have already observed, is now a fixed one. The Government of India have accepted in the most solemn and explicit manner the responsibility for mass education in this country. The Educational Despatch of 1854, the Education Commission's Report of 1882, with the Resolution of the Government of India thereon, and the Resolution of Lord Curzon's[1] Government of 1904, all speak with one voice on this point, namely, that the education of the masses is a sacred responsibility resting upon the Government of India. When we,

[1] Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1899-1905).

however, come to consider the extent of the field which has so far been covered, I feel bound to say that the progress made is distinctly disappointing. Taking the figures for 1901, the beginning of this century, and that means after 50 years of educational effort, the number of boys at school in this country was only about 32 lakhs, and the number of girls only a little over 5 lakhs. Taking only 10 per cent — not 15 per cent as they take in the West and as they do in official publications, even in India, taking only a modest 10 per cent — as the proportion of the total population that should be at school, I find that in 1901 only about 27 per cent of the boys and about $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the girls that should have been at school were at school ! During the last ten years, elementary education has no doubt been pushed on with special vigour and the rate of progress has been much faster. Even so, what is the position today? From a statement which was published by the Education Department the other day, I find that the number of boys at school has risen during these ten years from 32 lakhs to a little under 40 lakhs, and the number of girls from 5 lakhs to a little under 7 lakhs. Taking the new census figures of our population, this gives us for boys a proportion of 31 per cent and for girls $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Taking the proportion of total school attendance to the total population of the country, we find that the percentage was only 1.6 ten years ago, and it is now no more than 1·9. My Lord, all the Local Governments have stated that we must adhere to the present voluntary basis for extending primary education, and the Bombay Government professes itself to be very well pleased with the rate at which it is moving in the matter. A small calculation will show how long it will take for every boy and every girl of school-going age to be at school at the present rate. I have stated just now that during the last ten years the number of boys at school has risen from 32 to 40 lakhs, or a total increase in ten years of $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, and the number of girls has risen from 5 to under 7 lakhs, or an increase of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs. This gives us an annual increase for boys of 75,000 and for girls of 17,000. Now, assuming that there is no increase of population in future — absolutely no increase of population — an obviously impossible assumption — even then at the present rate a simple arithmetical calculation will show that 115 years will be required for every boy and 665 years for every girl of school-going age to be at school ! Even in Bombay, where things are slightly more advanced, it will take at least 75 years for every boy of school-going age between 6 and 10 years of age to be at school. Well might Mr. Orange, the late Director-General of Education, who was in this Council two years ago, exclaim :

> If the number of boys at school continued to increase, even at the rate of increase that has taken place in the last five years, and there was no increase in population, several generations would still elapse before all the boys of school-going age were at school.

And well might my late lamented friend Mr. Krishnaswamy Iyer of Madras, after a similar examination of the figures for that Presidency, observe in terms

of sorrow : 'The voluntary method of persuasion must be condemned as a hopeless failure.'

Profit by Civilized Countries' Experience

My Lord, this then is the position. The Government of India are committed to a policy of mass education, and the rate at which we have been going for the last 60 years is hopelessly slow. Even at the accelerated pace of the last ten years, it will take enormously long periods for every boy and every girl to be at school. Moreover, this does not take into account the natural and necessary increases of population in the country. What then is to be done? Are we going to content ourselves with experiments of our own only, experiments which can only prolong the reign of ignorance in the country? My Lord, India must profit by the example and by the experience of other civilized countries. And other civilized countries have come to only one conclusion in this matter, and that is that the State must resort to compulsion in order to secure universal education for the people. Most of the Western civilized countries have accepted this, and I have already given to the Council, when introducing this Bill, statistics showing what progress they have made under a system of compulsory education, and how India compares with them. There are also the examples nearer India, of which I have spoken — examples of the Philippines, of Ceylon and of Baroda — which are of the utmost importance, and the mere assertion that their circumstances are different from those of British India cannot dispose of them. Of course no two cases can be exactly alike. But what you must show is that their circumstances are so different that what has succeeded in their case will not succeed in ours. And till you show this, we are entitled to say that the experiment which has succeeded elsewhere should also be tried in India. I do not see what difference there is between the population of Ceylon and the population of the Southern Presidency or between the population of Baroda and the population of British Gujarat. Therefore, those who argue that these analogies will not do on the score that the circumstances are different, will have to establish the difference they speak of and not merely content themselves with the assertion that the cases are different.

Interesting Experiment in Sangli State

Moreover, I will mention today another instance — an instance which I was not able to mention last year because I had no definite information then on the subject — that of a most interesting experiment that has been recently tried with success in another Native State in India. It is a State in the Bombay Presidency and the experiment has been made under the very eye of the Bombay Government, not by the Chief, but by a British officer appointed by the Government as Administrator during the minority of the Chief — I refer to the State of Sangli. That State has a population of a little over 2 lakhs. Captain Burke,[1] the Administrator who was at the head of the State for 6 or 7 years, found that

[1] Captain R. C. Burke, Administrator, Sangli State.

the average school attendance was very low in the State, being only about 2 per cent of the population. At the end of 1907, he issued orders throughout the State making elementary education both free and compulsory under certain conditions. He, however, approached the problem from another standpoint. He laid down that at least 4 per cent of the total population, that is, twice the percentage for British India, must be at school. He ordered schools to be opened in every village with a population of 400 and above, and his orders to the village officials were that where the attendance at school exceeded 4 per cent there was to be no compulsion, but if it was lower than 4 per cent compulsion was to be applied, not only in the case of boys but also in the case of girls! The age limits for boys were laid down to be between 7 and 12, and for girls between 7 and 10, and the responsibility was thrown on the village officials to ensure at least a 4 per cent attendance, the Education Department of the State inspecting the work with care and vigilance. And in less than three years, as a result of these orders, the number of children at school doubled itself. In 1907, only about 5,000 children in a population of little over 2 lakhs were at school; in 1910, 10,000 children were at school, the number of schools too had largely increased; but while these most gratifying results were being obtained, hardly any one outside the State knew anything about what was going on. Those who speak of the opposition which might be encountered from the mass of the people themselves if compulsion is introduced, those who urge that there might be trouble, might well take note of the fact that in this State of Sangli compulsion was introduced not in advanced but in the most backward areas, not by the Chief, but by the British officer, and the experiment has proved so successful and has been so quietly carried out that very few outside the State have even heard of it.

The Great Thing is to Make a Beginning

I therefore contend that we, in British India, might also have recourse to compulsion with great advantage. I for one shall rejoice if the British Government of the country takes its courage into both hands and comes forward boldly to introduce compulsion throughout the country for both boys and girls — the whole field to be covered in a certain number of years. But since that cannot be, and if any one has any doubt in the matter that doubt will be dissipated by a reference to the official opinions received on the present Bill, the only alternative is for local bodies to be empowered to take the initiative, and introduce compulsion with the sanction and under the control of the Local Government. Local bodies, however, cannot take the initiative, unless there is legislation to empower them, and that is the reason why this Bill has been introduced. Whether this object is gained by enacting a special law for the whole country or by an amendment of the old Local Self-Government Acts of the different Provinces is a minor matter. The great thing is to make a beginning in introducing compulsion. Once a beginning is made, the public mind in the country will be rapidly familiarized with the idea of compulsion, and it

will then not take more than 20 years at the outside to have a system of universal education in the country in full operation.

Cautious Enforcement of Compulsion

As apprehensions are entertained in official and other quarters as to how compulsion will be regarded by the people, it is necessary to proceed cautiously; hence the proposal that the experiment should first be tried in selected areas only. Again there is fairly general opinion among those who have given any thought to the subject that for compulsion to be successfully applied in British India, there should be among the people a fair spread of elementary education, so that they may be in a position to appreciate its benefits. For that reason our proposal is that no local body should take up the question of compulsion unless at least 33 per cent of the school-going population within its area is already at school. And in the Bill the power to lay down this proportion or any other proportion is left to the Government of India, so that if they deem it necessary they might prescribe a higheer proportion. Moreover, no local body under the Bill can introduce compulsion without obtaining the previous sanction of the Local Government. To begin with, compulsion is contemplated only for boys, though power is taken to extend it, in due course, to girls; and I do hope that whenever it comes, it will be so extended to girls. The cost of the scheme is to be shared between local bodies and the Local Governments in a reasonable proportion, which, in my opinion, should be one-third for local bodies and two-thirds for Local Governments, the actual proportion, however, being laid down by the Government of India, and additional funds being placed by the Supreme Government at the disposal of Provincial Governments for meeting the Government share of the cost. The Bill proposes to exempt very poor people from the payment of fees as a matter of right and in all cases local bodies, which are empowered to levy a special education rate, if necessary, will be at liberty to remit fees altogether. The responsibility for providing adequate school accommodation is thrown on local bodies, who will also have to arrange for a reasonable enforcement of compulsion. The curriculum must be approved by the Education Department of the Local Government, and finally, following the example of the compulsory Acts of other countries, provision is made for absence from school for reasonable excuses and penalties provided for wilful absence without reasonable excuse.

Official and Non-Official Objections

This, my Lord, is the Bill, and this is the case for the Bill. I will now proceed to consider the more important objections which the different Local Governments have urged against this Bill, as also those that have been urged by some non-official critics. I will dismiss with very few words the objection that a spread of mass education in British India involves danger to British rule. My Lord, I do not believe that there would be any such danger. My own belief is that it is rather the other way, that there will be danger, not from the spread of

education, but from the withholding of education. But, my Lord, even if there is a possible element of danger in the spread of education, it is the clear duty of the British Government to face that danger and to go on with a faithful discharge of their responsibility. I do not think that any sane Englishman will urge that the people of this country should pay the price of perpetual ignorance for even such advantages as the most enthusiastic supporter of British rule may claim for it.

Leaving therefore that objection aside, there are seven objections to which I would like briefly to refer. The first objection is to compulsion itself. The second objection is urged on educational grounds. The third is on the score of the scheme. The fourth is on account of alleged financial inequality and injustice in which the scheme would result. These four are official objections. Then there are three non-official objections. The first is to the levy of a special educational rate; the second to the levy of fees from parents whose income is not below Rs. 10 a month; and the third is the Muhammadan objection that the provisions of the Bill may be used to compel Moslem children to learn non-Moslem languages. I will answer these objections briefly one by one.

The principal argument of those who are against compulsion is that there is plenty of room yet for work on a voluntary basis; that schools are filled as soon as they are opened, thus showing that the need of the situation is more schools and not compulsion; and that in any case till persuasion is exhausted, it is not desirable to go in for compulsion. Now, my Lord, this statement is not a complete statement of the case. It is quite true that in certain places, as soon as schools are opened, they are filled. But there is also ample official evidence to show that in many areas schools have had to be shut down because children would not come. We find a statement to this effect in the United Provinces official papers. Mr. Maynard of the Punjab, in a most thoughtful opinion recorded on the Bill, says: 'It will very frequently be found that a perfectly genuine demand for a school on the part of a zealous minority does not guarantee an attendance after the school is provided, and it is occasionally necessary to close for this reason schools which have been opened on too sanguine a forecast.' In Bengal and Eastern Bengal also several zamindars have complained that though they opened free schools on their estates, it was found difficult to get boys to attend them, because of the great apathy among the people. The real fact is that there are two factors, as Mr. Orange has stated in the last quinquennial report on education that cause the smallness of school attendance. One is undoubtedly the want of schools. But the other is the apathy of parents, even where schools exist. 'The apathy of the populace,' says Mr. Orange, 'towards primary education is often mentioned and does undoubtedly operate as a cause which keeps school attendance low.' He admits this, though he himself would like to push on education for the present on a voluntary basis only. Now, the remedy for this state of things must also be two-fold. First of all local bodies must be required to provide the necessary educational

facilities for children that should be at school — school-houses, teachers, etc. That is one part of compulsion. Then they must be empowered to require parents to send their children to school — that would be the second part of compulsion. Now, my Lord, this Bill advocates both sides of this two-fold compulsion. It not merely requires parents in the areas where the Bill may be introduced to send their children to school, it also throws a definite responsibility on local bodies coming under the Bill to provide the necessary school accommodation and other facilities for the education of all the children within their area. Then it is said that compulsion would cause hardship, would cause discontent, and would prove dangerous. Well, the experience of other countries as also in our own does not justify this view; and in any case, even if there is some discontent, that has got to be faced in view of the great interests that are involved in this matter. It is argued by some that the poorer people will be exposed to the exactions of a low-paid agency if compulsion is introduced. I think the fears on this subject are absurdly exaggerated. But if the people are so weak as to succumb easily to such exactions, the only way in which they can be strengthened is by spreading education among them and by enabling them to take better care of themselves.

Objections on Educational Grounds

Those who object to the Bill on educational grounds urge that it is undesirable to extend the kind of education that is at present given in primary schools, for it is worse than useless. Most of the teachers are not trained teachers, the school buildings are unfit for holding classes in, and therefore until these defects are removed, until there is a sufficient supply of trained teachers forthcoming, until ample decent school accommodation is available, the question of extension should wait. My Lord, those who raise these objections ignore what is the primary purpose of mass education. The primary purpose of mass education is to banish illiteracy from the land. The quality of education is a matter of importance that comes only after illiteracy has been banished. Now, the primary purpose being to banish illiteracy, teachers who could teach a simple curriculum of the 3 R's and houses hired by or voluntarily placed by owners at the disposal of school authorities, must do for the present. In Japan, when they began compulsion, they held classes in the verandahs of private houses. I think what was not beneath the dignity of Japan need not be beneath the dignity of this country. Of course I do not depreciate the value and importance of trained teachers and decent school-houses; but I say that we cannot wait till all these defects are first put right before taking up the question of banishing illiteracy from the land. Let that work be resolutely taken in hand, and as we go along let us try to secure for the country better teachers and better school-houses.

Fantastic Estimates of Cost

The third objection to the Bill is on the score of cost. My Lord, a lot of wild criticism has been indulged in by the opponents of the Bill on this point. Nobody

denies that the cost of a compulsory scheme is bound to be large. But all sorts of fantastic estimates have been brought forward to discredit the scheme in the eyes of those who can be misled by such tactics. I think the calculation of cost is a fairly simple one. The Bill is intended to apply in the first instance to boys only, and we will therefore for the present take the cost for boys. Taking 10 per cent of the total male population as the number of boys between the ages of 6 and 10, and taking the male population at about 125 millions, according to the latest census, we find that the number of boys that should be at school is about $12\frac{1}{2}$ millions. Of these, about 4 millions are already at school. That leaves about $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions to be brought to school. Now, Mr.Orange, the Director-General of Education, in a note which he prepared for the Government, took the average cost of education per boy at Rs. 5, the present average cost is less than Rs. 4; the highest is in Bombay where it is Rs. 6-8 and everywhere else it is less than Rs. 4. These figures are given in the Quinquennial Report of Mr. Orange. Mr. Orange takes Rs. 5 per head, and I am willing to take that figure. Now, Rs.5 per head, for $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions of boys amounts to about $4\frac{1}{4}$ crores per year, or, say, $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores per year. I propose that this cost should be divided between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third; that is, the Government should find 3 crores and local bodies the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores. This again will be worked up to in ten years. If we have to find this money in ten years, it means a continuous increase of about 30 lakhs in our annual expenditure on primary education. Allowing another crore for pushing on education on a voluntary basis for girls, to be reached in ten years, means another 10 lakhs a year, or a continuous annual addition of 40 lakhs of rupees in all. Now, I do not think that this is too much for the Government to find. My Lord, I have given some attention to the question of our finance for some years, and I do not think that an addition of 40 lakhs every year is really beyond the power of the Government of India. Moreover, even if it be proposed that the whole of these 4 crores should be raised straight off, that all boys should be brought to school compulsorily at once, and that a crore of rupees more should be spent on the education of girls — assuming that these four crores have to be found staight off, an addition of 2 per cent to our customs duty will solve the problem. Our customs revenue is about ten crores this year with the duty standing at 5 per cent; about 2 per cent more will bring us the required 4 crores. Now, there is no special merit in having our customs duty at 5 per cent, and they might as well stand at 7 per cent without causing any serious hardship to anybody. There was a time when they stood at 10 per cent in this country, and at the present moment they are at 8 per cent in Egypt. I do not think therefore that there are really any very insuperable difficulties in the way of the scheme on the score of cost.

Fear of Financial Injustice Imaginary

Then, it is said that a scheme like this, a permissive scheme, which allows

areas to come under compulsion one by one, is bound to result in serious financial injustice and inequality as regards the assistance received from Government by different local areas. Now, my Lord, I feel bound to say that this is one of the flimsiest arguments that have been urged against the scheme which we are considering. If anybody proposed as a permanent arrangement that elementary education in certain parts of the country should be on a compulsory basis, and in certain others on a voluntary basis, and if the areas that were on a compulsory basis got more from Government than the areas that were on a voluntary basis, there would be some force in the contention that different areas were being differently treated. But the arrangement that I propose is clearly transitional; in the end every part of the country is to rest on a compulsory basis and would share equally in the allotment made by Government. In a transitional stage, provided the same terms are equally open to all, I do not see where the injustice or inequality comes in. If a local body feels aggrieved that some other local body gets more than itself from Government, the remedy is in its own hands. All that it has got to do is to go in for compulsion itself. Those who object to the proposed scheme on the score that it would lead to financial inequality and injustice might object at once to the principle of introducing compulsion gradually, area by area. For how are we to proceed area by area, unless those areas that introduce compulsion first get also at the same time larger assistance from the Government ?

Moreover, is there absolute equality even at present in all matters ? Even now, on a voluntary basis, the Government, in many parts of the country, bears about one-third of the cost of primary education, with the result that those areas that spend more get more from the Government and those that spend less get less. Is that equal ?

Again, take the question of sanitary grants. Under the existing arrangements, those local bodies that go in for the construction of sanitary projects get a certain grant from the Government. Now, if the local bodies that do not take in hand such projects were to complain of injustice, because others that do are assisted by Government, their complaint would be perfectly ridiculous, and yet it is the same kind of complaint that is urged against the scheme of the Bill. I do not think that any weight need really be attached to the objection on the score of financial injustice and inequality when it is remembered that such inequality can only be a passing, transitional stage. It is said that under the Bill, advanced areas and communities would be benefited at the expense of the less advanced. That argument is based on a complete misapprehension of the scheme. No one has ever suggested, or can possibly suggest, that any money should be taken out of existing expenditure on primary education for its extension on a compulsory basis. No one can also possibly wish to curtail future increases in the allotments to education on a voluntary basis. The expenditure for introducing compulsion is to come out of additional revenues partly raised locally and partly raised specially by

the Government of India. The Government of India's funds will have necessarily to pass through the Local Governments, since education is a provincial charge. But that does not mean that Provincial Governments will have to curtail their present or future expenditure on a voluntary basis to finance any scheme of compulsion.

Objection to Educational Rate

My Lord, I have so far dealt with the four principal official objections against the Bill. I will now refer very briefly to the three non-official arguments which I have mentioned. The first argument is that while there is no objection to compulsion itself, the levy of a special education rate, where it would be necessary, would be most objectionable. Well, my Lord, I must say to that, that if we merely want compulsion, but are not prepared to make any sacrifices for the benefits that would accrue from it to the mass of our people, the sooner we give up talking about securing universal education, the better. The practice of the whole civilized world points out that a part of the burden must be borne by the local bodies. There is only one exception, as far as I am aware, and that is Ireland, where almost the entire cost of elementary education comes from the Imperial Exchequer. They have given this special treatment to Ireland because for a long time Ireland has complained of being treated with great financial injustice under the arrangement that has been in existence since the Act of Union was passed more than a century ago. If we take the whole of the United Kingdom, we find that the local bodies there bear on the whole about a third of the total cost. It is the same in France. And in other countries, the local proportion is still larger. I cannot therefore see how anybody can reasonably urge that the whole cost of compulsion should be borne by the Central Government.

Education Should be Both Free and Compulsory

The next objection urged in some non-official quarters is that if you make education compulsory, it must be made free and the Bill does not make it free for all. I frankly confess that the proposal embodied in the Bill on this point was intended to conciliate official opinion. My own personal view always was that, where education was made compulsory, it should also be made free. Two years ago, when I placed my Resolution on this subject before this Council, I urged that view in explicit terms. In framing the Bill, however, I was anxious to go as far as possible to conciliate official opinion, and I therefore put in the provision that no fees should be charged in the case of those whose incomes were below Rs. 10 a month, and that above that limit the matter should be left to the discretion of local bodies. Well, my Lord, I must frankly admit that I have failed in my object. Official opinion has not been conciliated; and I do not see why I should allow room for a division in our own ranks by adhering to this provision. I shall therefore be glad to go back to my original proposal in this matter that, where education is compulsory, it should also be free.

Muhammadan Objection Baseless

Lastly, my Lord, a word about the Muhammadan objection. I believe I need not say that there never was any intention that the compulsory clauses of the Bill should be utilized to compel Moslem boys to learn non-Moslem languages. However, to remove all misapprehension on this point, I am perfectly willing that where 25 children speaking a particular language attend a school, provision should be made for teaching those children in that language; and further, where the number is less than that, it should be left to the community itself to say whether the children should come under the compulsory clauses of the Bill or not. I have discussed this matter with several leading Muhammadan gentlemen and I understand that this would meet their view.

Generous Central Assistance Essential

My Lord, I have now dealt with all principal objections urged against the Bill. I cannot understand why there should be all this vehement opposition in certain quarters to a measure so modest in its scope and so permissive in its character. No local body is compelled to come under this Bill, that wants to keep out of it. Any Local Government that wants to prevent compulsion being introduced in any particular area, can prevent it by withholding its sanction to its introduction. And lastly, the supreme control of the Government of India is retained at the initial stage by the provision that it is the Government of India that should lay down the proportion of school-going children at school which must be satisfied before any local body can take up the question of compulsion. I cannot see how such a Bill can do harm in any locality. I would only invite the attention of the Council to the fact that at least a hundred Municipalities, more or less important, are willing today to try the experiment in their areas if this Bill is passed, and I do not see why these Muncipalities should not be permitted to make the experiment. Of course the whole thing hinges on whether the Government of India are prepared to find a good part of the cost. That is, in fact, the real crux of the question, and whether the Bill is accepted or thrown out, it is perfectly clear that no large extension of elementary education is possible in the country, unless the Government of India come forward with generous financial assistance.

I would therefore like to make a special appeal to the Hon'ble Member in charge of education on this occasion. My Lord, the Hon'ble Member knows that no one has acclaimed more enthusiastically than myself the creation of the Education Department, and I am sure every one will admit ungrudgingly that during the year and a half that the Department has been in existence, it has already amply justified its existence by the large grants, recurring and non-recurring, that it has succeeded in securing both for education and sanitation in this country. We are sincerely grateful to the Government of India for these grants. And, my Lord, in view of the conversation with your Excellency which was mentioned by the Finance Member the other day, I think we are justified in expecting that in succeeding years

these grants will grow more and more, and not less. Well, so far I believe we are all at one with the Department, I would like to say something more to the Hon'ble Member. My Lord, I know that the fate of my Bill is sealed. Now, there are obvious disadvantages attaching to a private Bill. Why not introduce a Government measure after the ground has been cleared by the rejection of this Bill ? Why not — I put it to the Hon'ble Member — introduce a Government measure ? It is quite true that there is room for progress on a voluntary basis. Let the Local Governments who are so anxious to keep education on a voluntary basis be required to push on its spread as vigorously as possible on a voluntary basis. And let the Government of India in the Education Department take up the question of pushing it on a compulsory basis, as its special charge.

Special Responsibility of Central Government

I would like to put it to the Hon'ble Member, is he content merely to take grants from the Finance Department and distribute them among the various Local Governments and then look on, or is he not anxious, as I think it is his duty, to take a hand in the game himself ? If he is, then I suggest that there should be a division of functions such as I have described between the Provincial Governments and the Government of India. The progress of education on a voluntary basis should be left to the Provincial Governments. They do not want compulsion. They all prefer to push it on a voluntary basis. Let us then leave that work to them; let the Government of India, with its wider outlook and its larger resources, come forward, and profiting by the example of other civilized countries, provide for the gradual introduction of compulsion in this country. Let the Government take up the question of compulsion themselves, then they will be able to provide all the safeguards that they deem necessary. Let them frame a Bill free from all the blemishes which have been discovered in mine, and let them carry it through the Council. And let them, at the same time, announce a generous policy of substantial assistance to local bodies in carrying out the provisions of the measure. Let the Government, my Lord, let this be done, and let the burden of all future extensions be shared between the Government and the local bodies in the proportion of two-thirds and one-third. I would recommend that both for voluntary and compulsory extensions — I mean Provincial Governments should bear two-thirds of the cost of all future extensions of elementary education on a voluntary basis, and the Government of India, two-thirds of the cost of compulsion. Then, my Lord, elementary education will advance in this country with truly rapid strides, and the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department will, under your Excellency, write his name large on the memory of a grateful people.

No Delusions About Results

My Lord, I have done. No one is so simple as to imagine that a system of universal education will necessarily mean an end to all our ills, or that

it will open out to us a new heaven and a new earth. Men and women will still continue to struggle with their imperfections and life will still be a scene of injustice and suffering, of selfishness and strife. Poverty will not be banished because illiteracy has been removed, and the need for patriotic or philanthropic work will not grow any the less. But with the diffusion of universal education the mass of our countrymen will have a better chance in life. With universal education there will be hope of better success for all efforts, official or non-official, for the amelioration of the people — their social progress, their moral improvement, their economic well-being. I think, my Lord, with universal education the mass of the people will be better able to take care of themselves against the exactions of unscrupulous money-lenders or against the abuses of official authority by petty men in power. My Lord, with 94 per cent of our countrymen sunk in ignorance, how can the advantages of sanitation or thrift be properly appreciated, and how can the industrial efficiency of the worker be improved ? With 94 per cent of the people unable to read or write, how can the evil of superstition be effectively combated and how can the general level of life in the country be raised ? My Lord, His Majesty the King-Emperor,[1] in delivering his message of hope to the people of this country before he left Calcutta, was pleased to say : ' And it is my wish too that the homes of my Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge, with what follows in its train — a higher level of thought, of comfort, and of health. ' No nobler words were ever uttered. May we not hope that the servants of His Majesty in this country will keep these words constantly before their minds and will so discharge the responsibility which they impose that future generations in this country will be enabled to turn to His Majesty's declaration with the same fervent and reverent gratitude with which the people of Japan recall their Emperor's famous rescript of 1872 ?

My Lord, I know that my Bill will be thrown out before the day closes. I make no complaint. I shall not even feel depressed. I know too well the story of the preliminary efforts that were required even in England, before the Act of 1870 was passed, either to complain or to feel depressed. Moreover, I have always felt and have often said that we, of the present generation in India, can only hope to serve our country by our failures.

[1] Among the announcements made by the Governor-General (Lord Hardinge) of India on behalf of the King Emperor on the occasion of the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi on 12th December 1911 was the following concerning the extension of education. It ran :

" Humbly and dutifully submissive to His Most Gracious Majesty's will and pleasure, the Government of India have resolved, with the approval of His Imperial Majesty's Secretary of State, to acknowledge the predominant claims of educational advancement on the resources of the Indian Empire, and have decided in recognition of a very commendable demand to set themselves to making education in India as accessible and wide as possible. With this purpose they propose to devote at once 50 lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education, and it is the firm intention of Government to add to the grant now announced further grants in future years on a generous scale. "

The men and women who will be privileged to serve her by their successes will come later. We must be content to accept cheerfully the place that has been allotted to us in our onward march. This Bill, thrown out today, will come back again and again, till on the stepping-stones of its dead selves, a measure ultimately rises which will spread the light of knowledge throughout the land. It may be that this anticipation will not come true. It may be that our efforts may not conduce even indirectly to the promotion of the great cause which we all have at heart and that they may turn out after all to be nothing better than the mere ploughing of the sands of the sea-shore. But, my Lord, whatever fate awaits our labours, one thing is clear. We shall be entitled to feel that we have done our duty, and, where the call of duty is clear, it is better even to labour and fail than not to labour at all.

Reply by Gokhale

On Tuesday, the 19th *March* 1912, *replying to the debate which ensued on his Bill, Gokhale spoke as follows :*

Support of Nagpur Municipality and Local Board

Sir, it only remains for me now to reply to the speeches which have been made in opposition to the motion that I have submitted to the Council. I will first say a few words about my friends, Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Nawab Abdul Majid. I really do not complain of the view which these two friends have expressed. Frankly, they do not believe in mass education, and in that they are not singular. There are men belonging to their class in other countries — in Western countries — who also have the same distrust of mass education. If my friends had the courage of their convictions, if they were prepared to push their views to their logical conclusion, they would propose the abolition of mass education. But they will not do that for they are discreet in their generation. But, Sir, I would like to know one thing from the Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis, if he will be so good as to enlighten us on that point. The two local bodies of which my friend is President, namely the Nagpur Municipality and the Nagpur District Board, have both supported this Bill. Now, was he or was he not present at the meetings of these bodies when the Bill came up for consideration ? And if he was, did he protest against the resolutions ? And, if not, is the difference in his attitude due to the difference between the popular atmosphere of those meetings and the predominantly official atmosphere that we have in this Council ?

The Hon'ble Sir Gangadhar Rao Chitnavis : I was present at the two meetings of the Municipal Committee and of the District Council, but the way in which those resolutions were made and the safeguards with which they have been hedged round will show how enthusiastically people received this measure. And I told them —

The President : I cannot allow the Hon'ble Member to make a speech. He

must sit down and let the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale continue his remarks without interruption.

Gokhale : Well, that suffices for my point. The Hon'ble Member was present and the resolutions were in favour of the principle of the Bill. You may put it any way you like, but the resolutions did favour the principle of my Bill And the motion before the Council asks for nothing more. All it says is, approve the principle of the Bill and send it to a Select Committee in order that its provisions may be carefully examined. If the Hon'ble Member did not protest against those resolutions, if he allowed those resolutions in favour of the Bill to be passed there without his protest, I cannot understand how he can now oppose this motion that the Bill should go to a Select Committee. My Hon'ble friend, the Malik Sahib, has opposed the motion so gently that I shall show my gratitude by not controverting his views. My Hon'ble friend the Maharaja of Burdwan[1] has also expressed himself in such a guarded way that I prefer to look upon his speech as more in favour of the motion than against it. He is in any case not going to vote against the motion; therefore, I will not say anything more as regards his attitude.

Mr. Dadabhoy's Position Incomprehensible

I now come to the Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy. I must say that my friend's position is absolutely incomprehensible to me. The other day I congratulated my friend on his conversion to official views in the matter of our complaint that the grant to irrigation was not always fully expended. The official plea has always been that, owing to scarcity of labour, the money allotted cannot always be spent. I congratulated my friend on his conversion to official views in that matter, because the complaint which was made on this subject the other day by the Hon'ble Mr. Mudholkar, and in which Mr. Dadabhoy could not agree, was precisely the complaint which my friend had himself been making in years past. Today I will go a little further and congratulate my friend not only on his conversion to official views but on his conversion to the very manner of expressing those views.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadaboy : Will you allow me a personal explanation ?

The President : I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is entitled to continue his speech without constant interruptions. Every member belonging to the Indian portion of the Council has made a speech, and I think the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is entitled, except for very strong reasons, to proceed without interruption.

Gokhale : Official members, when they oppose a non-official motion, first express plenty of sympathy with an object. Sometimes the sympathy is really most valuable; sometimes it is only intended to soothe our susceptibilities. But in any case sympathy is generally expressed before a motion is resisted. My Hon'ble friend has also begun to give us sympathy while opposing our

[1] See foot-note on p. 79.

resolutions. But, Sir, official sympathy has a practical value because it often means increased grants. I do not know, however, what we can do with the sympathy which the Hon'ble Member offers us. In fact, Sir, I must say that it is a source of no small embarrassment to us, because official opponents can point to that sympathy and say : 'Here is a member who is in sympathy with you, and yet who deems it his duty to oppose your motion.' The less, therefore, that we have of such expressions of sympathy from my Hon'ble friend in future the better, for we certainly should prefer his opposition pure and simple. Sir, two years ago I moved in this Council a Resolution on the subject of free and compulsory education. That Resolution recommended that a *beginning* should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. There was no ambiguity about the terms. I definitely suggested that a *beginning* should be made. The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy then made a speech in support, the very first sentence of which was : 'My Lord, I cordially support this Resolution.' He cordially supported my Resolution recommending that a beginning should be made in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory. And we argued strongly about the necessity of introducing compulsion. The Hon'ble Member said : 'And if the propriety of the Government action in fixing the age at which children can begin manual work in the interests of the physical development of the nation be admitted, equally, if not even more, proper will the Government policy be in compelling children to attend school up to a certain age in the higher interests of their mental and moral development. It is a balancing of advantages and disadvantages, and the advantage would appear to be in favour of compulsory education.'

Then again Sir, last year, when I introduced the present Bill, what was it that the Hon'ble Member said ? My Hon'ble friend thus referred to the Bill which is now before the Council, the Bill which I propose should now go to a Select Committee : '*Prima facie*', he said, 'the Bill deserves support. A close examination of the provisions (not merely a superficial glance at them but a close examination such as my friend always bestows on every subject) will show that the general principle of the Bill is sound.' He thus said that a close examination of the Bill had convinced him at that time that the general principle of the Bill was sound. Sir, today we are only considering, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Mazharul Haque has already pointed out, the general principle of the Bill. The place for considering the details is the Select Committee. Those who are in favour of the general principle of the Bill are, in my opinion, bound to support this motion for referring the Bill to a Select Committee. If my friend is in favour of the general principle of the Bill I cannot understand how he opposes the motion.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy : Forgive me, Sir, but in fairness to myself I must request you to permit me to tender a personal explanation.

The President : Are you rising to a point of order ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy : No, Sir, I want to explain my position.

The President : Order, order. The Hon'ble Member had ample opportunity to explain his position at the time when he was speaking. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is now fully entitled to proceed with his speech without interruption.

Gokhale : Sir, I must also point out that I am confining myself to quotations entirely. The Council is in a position to judge if I am properly representing or not the Hon'ble Member. I am quoting his words exactly as they are in these proceedings. Sir, more than that, since the Hon'ble Member himself made an indirect reference to the subject yesterday, I may mention that only ten days ago my Hon'ble friend had assured me that he would not only support my motion, but would strongly support it. He is of course entitled to change his views, but a man who has been as long as my friend has been in public life and who had examined the provisions of my Bill carefully last year and had expressed the views he did last year and the year before is certainly expected to show some consistency.

The Hon'ble Mr. Dadabhoy : Will you allow me, Sir—

The President : The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale is fully entitled to make these remarks. He is making quotations from books to which we all have access, and I must request the Hon'ble Member to allow him to proceed without interruption.

Gokhale : May I point out to the Hon'ble Member that there is always a disadvantage attaching to a person speaking before another. If the Hon'ble Member gets an opportunity of speaking after me, he will be entitled to say whatever he chooses, without being interrupted by me. He, moreover, can explain himself in the columns of the Press, if he likes.

Mr. Shafi's Position Examined

Well, I will now pass on from Mr. Dadabhoy and say a few words with reference to the remarks made by the Hon'ble Mr. Shafi. A large part of the Hon'ble Member's speech was devoted to a condemnation of the principle of compulsion, and, after the manner in which the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department practically accepted the desirability of compulsion, I do not think I need say much about that part of his case. After all when the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education, speaking in the name of the Government, says what he did on the subject of compulsion, if a private member takes a different view, that is comparatively a small matter. The Hon'ble Member is of opinion that, unless a person is absolutely and entirely in favour of every single clause of a Bill, he cannot be regarded as a supporter of the Bill. Now, Sir, as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Haque has already pointed out, we are only considering the principle of the Bill today, and I have already explained that, when I said that certain persons were in favour of the Bill, I only meant that they were only in favour of the principle of the Bill. It should be remembered that a Bill is not like a law of the Medes and of the Persians or like Athene issuing from the head of Jove clad in full armour. A Bill is a series of proposals tentatively put forward before the public. Certain parts

are fundamental and they cannot be altered; but certain other parts are only tentatively put forward, and are liable to be revised in the light of such public criticism as is brought to bear upon them. If you take the view that he alone can be called a supporter who accepts every single clause of a Bill as first drafted, then no measure that was ever introduced in this world can be said to have been supported largely by the public.

The Hon'ble Member also said that one result of my Bill would be that the areas that were more advanced would derive additional advantage and the areas that were more backward would be pushed still further back. This objection has also been urged by some other members. I have already pointed out that the objection is based on a complete misapprehension of my scheme such as it is. I do not want that the Provincial Governments should reduce in any way the expenditure that they are already incurring on the primary education of backward areas. And I do not for a moment suggest that future grants for primary education in backward areas on a voluntary scale should be reduced. But what I want is that, if certain local bodies want to go in for compulsion and are prepared to find a part of the cost, the Imperial Government, out of their own Exchequer, should come forward to the assistance of these bodies and provide the rest of the cost that would be required. If these local bodies do not go in for a compulsory scheme, the Government of India would probably be devoting its surplus revenues to various other purposes, such as to the reduction of debt and a number of other objects with which we are familiar. What I say, therefore, is that without touching the revenues of Provincial Governments, if any local body wanted to go in for compulsion and raised a part of the cost, the Government of India should come forward and supplement that cost out of their own Exchequer. I do not see how this would constitute any disadvantage to the backward areas which in their turn would also be benefited by the arrangement.

Government Attitude Sympathetic

I will now come to the remarks of the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. I hope the Hon'ble Member will permit me to say that it was with the utmost satisfaction that I listened to the concluding portion of his speech — not the controversial part with which I will presently deal, but the concluding portion of his speech. That portion really is what matters to us, because it lays down the future policy of the Government of India so far as primary education is concerned. Sir, as I listened to those warm and enthusiastic words which fell from the Hon'ble Member, I could not help feeling what a great thing it would have been for the country if, instead of being an official, the Hon'ble Member had been a non-official and if we could have had an opportunity of placing ourselves under his banner and spreading the gospel of the necessity of mass education throughout the country under his lead. Sir, I think that portion of his speech will give great satisfaction throughout the country, even to those who are convinced that we should lose no more time in making a

beginning in the direction of making elementary education free and compulsory; because, taken with the opening words of his speech, it goes much further than any pronouncement on the part of Government has previously done. The Hon'ble Member stated at the beginning that no one would rejoice more than himself if primary education became free and compulsory in the country, and that it was the policy of the Government to so work that that desirable consummation should be brought about. That commits the Government of India, first, to an approval of the principle of free and compulsory education, and, secondly, to so conduct their educational operations that the time for making education free and compulsory would be hastened and not indefinitely put off. That, taken with the determination announced at the close of the speech, amounts to a practical promise that sooner than many of us imagine, the State will help us to reach the goal which we have before our eyes, the goal of free and compulsory education.

Sir, I will now deal with the principal points in the Hon'ble Member's speech. I am personally grateful to him, as also to the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp, for the terms of appreciation in which they have spoken of my humble efforts in this matter; but I did not quite understand what the Hon'ble Member meant by observing that, while he was prepared to appreciate what I had been doing, he was somewhat disappointed to find that I did not equally appreciate what the officials had been doing. If he spoke of his Department, he knows that there is no warmer appreciator of the efforts of that Department than myself. If, however, he spoke of the officials generally, he cannot surely expect me to be grateful even to those officials who are against mass education itself. As regards a number of officials who are really striving to push on mass education, of course we all appreciate their efforts : but appreciating efforts of that kind is one thing and expressing disappointment at the pace at which we are moving is another thing. Without intending to cast any reflection on those officials who are doing what they can under the existing system to push on primary education, I think it is perfectly permissible to say that the pace at which we are going is very unsatisfactory. In fact, that is what the Hon'ble Member himself said yesterday, and that is all I have said.

Bombay Government's Stand Unhelpful

Sir, the Hon'ble Member referred to what I had said about the letter of the Bombay Government, and he asked the Council to remember that the head of the Bombay Government was Sir George Clarke; and he seemed to imply that I had cast some sort of reflection on Sir George Clarke. It is not necessary that I should say to this Council that I have always entertained the warmest admiration for Sir George Clarke, both personally for his remarkable qualities of head and heart, and also for the great services that he has rendered to the Bombay Presidency in many fields. But this is not a question of Sir George Clarke personally; it is a question of the letter which the Bombay Government as a Provincial Government has addressed to the Government of India; and

I did mean yesterday, and I do say today, that even a great Provincial Government might show some courtesy to those who have the misfortune to differ from its views. I will give only one quotation to this Council. Speaking about a proposal that fees should be remitted and that free education should be introduced, the Bombay Government says: ' Such a policy would be regarded as a triumph by a few persons who have shown no understanding of educational questions. ' Now, Sir, I understood the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education yesterday to favour free education. Many members here have also got up and said that they would like to have free education. Some of the officers belonging to the different Provincial Governments have expressed the view that education should be made free before it is made compulsory. But more than all, only five years ago the Government of India addressed a circular letter to all Local Governments advocating that fees should be abolished and that free education should be introduced. I therefore respectfully pass on this description of the Bombay Government of those who favour free education to the Hon'ble Member and to the Government of India !

Who are in Favour ?

Sir, the Hon'ble Member asked, who were they who were in favour of this Bill? Now, that is a very easy way of disposing of all those who are inconveniently ranged on the other side. Those who are in favour of the Bill may be divided into two classes, namely, those who belong to the educated classes, and those who belong to the backward communities. Now, you can discredit the support given by these two sections in two separate ways. The Central Provinces Government, for instance, says that the members of the educated classes might be in favour; but what does it cost them to be in favour? The question does not really concern them, and mere heroic resolutions in favour of this proposal do not really count for much. On the other hand, if members of backward communities assemble and express themselves in favour, the argument is used, what do they understand of the Bill ? They have not the intelligence to understand what would be the effects of the Bill. My Hon'ble friend Mr. Mudholkar reminds me that only a short time ago a meeting of 2,500 Mahars, that is, one of the most depressed classes on our side, was held in Berar and passed a resolution in favour of this Bill. If you ask me if every member of that body understood what the Bill was, I could not answer that question in the affirmative; but they must have had a fairly general idea that the Bill was intended to make education compulsory, and that under it their children would be compelled to go to school so that they might derive the benefits of education. The analogy of the three tailors of Tooley Street could in my opinion be applied far more to the persons opposed to the Bill than to those who are in favour of the Bill.

Now, Sir, I come to my examples from different countries. The Hon'ble Member said, before dealing with these analogies, that there are differences in this country of caste, differences of script, differences of language. But

that only means that we have a bigger problem than elsewhere. It does not mean that we cannot tackle the problem successfully. What have these differences to do with the question of compulsion ? You have got primary schools just now to teach different scripts, and different languages and for different communities; all that is necessary is to increase their schools and introduce compulsion in regard to attending them.

Education Member's Incorrect Statement

The Hon'ble Member, speaking of the case of England, said that in England compulsory education and compulsory attendance came six and ten years after the compulsory provision of educational facilities. Will my Hon'ble friend allow me to say that that statement is not correct ? The Act of 1870, which required the compulsory provision of educational facilities, at the same time empowered local authorities to frame bye-laws whereby the attendance of children could be secured compulsorily at school. Of course it was a purely permissive provision, which some local authorities used and some did not. But that is precisely what this Bill proposes to do. In 1876, the next step was taken when the responsibility was thrown on the parents to send their children compulsorily to school, and the whole fabric was ultimately completed in the year 1880, when local authorities were compelled to frame bye-laws. But the Act of 1870 was in many respects similar to the Bill which I have laid before the Council, because this Bill on the one side empowers local bodies to introduce compulsion and on the other throws the responsibility on them to provide the necessary educational facilities.

The Hon'ble Member has told the Council that in Japan it is persuasion and not compulsion that has produced the present results. An answer to that was given this morning in the course of the debate, that persuasion there has succeeded because there is compulsion behind it to fall back upon. All that we want is that we too should have compulsion to fall back upon and our persuasion also will then succeed much more than it can do at present.

Then, Sir, as regards the question of the Philippines. The Hon'ble Member said that there was no State law of compulsion in the Philippines. That is quite true, but that is exactly what I myself had stated last year. This is what I had said :

> Under Spanish rule there was no system of popular education in the Philippines. As soon as the Islands passed into the possession of the United States, they drew up a regular programme of expenditure which has been systematically adhered to. The aim is to make primary education universal and the educational authorities advise compulsion though no compulsory law has yet been enacted. In the matter of education many Municipalities have introduced compulsion by local ordinances.

That is my point. Of course, these local ordinances have been held by some to be illegal; they have been framed under powers that were conferred on local bodies by the Spanish Government. That, however, is a separate matter.

It is significant that nobody has come forward on the side of the people to question the validity of these local ordinances.

Coming to Ceylon, the Hon'ble Member said that 60 per cent of the population of Ceylon were Buddhists. What has religion got to do with the question of compulsion ? If you mean to say that there are no castes among the Buddhists, and therefore the difficulty is less, I say there are no castes among the Muhammadans of this country, and yet what have you done to introduce compulsory education among the 100 per cent of the Muhammadans of this country ?

Baroda Experiment of Compulsion a Guide

Finally, I come to the question of Baroda. The Hon'ble Member quoted figures which largely go against him. In the first place, he said that even according to the last census the percentage of literacy in Baroda was only 17 for the male population while the percentage in a British district — Broach — was 24. This is quite true; but that only helps me, for it shows that Baroda resorted to compulsion even before that State was as advanced as the neighbouring British territory in the matter of the spread of education. We have been told again and again that there must be a certain general diffusion of education before you can take in hand compulsion and I accepted with some reluctance a percentage of 33 as the proportion of children of school-going age who should be at school before compulsion could be introduced. Here, however, we find in Baroda, even when education was much more backward than it is in the surrounding British territories, the State took up compulsion — a point distinctly in my favour and not against me.

Then, Sir, compulsory education was introduced in Baroda only five years ago. Surely my Hon'ble friend does not expect that the illiteracy of those who were beyond the school-going age five years ago would be touched by the compulsory education introduced during the last five years. The bulk of the population had passed beyond that stage five years ago, and of course they all come into the census figures of illiterates. But let us wait for another ten years and then we shall see a great difference if the British Government continues — as I hope it will not — on its present voluntary basis and the Baroda Government on its compulsory basis. Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member gave some figures for Broach. Well, I accept those figures — 6·9 of the total population being at school in the whole district of Broach. But the Hon'ble Member should compare likes with likes. Broach is the most advanced district of the five districts which constitute Gujarat. If the Hon'ble Member takes that district, he should also take the most advanced division in the Baroda State for comparison. Else the comparison will not be fair. If you take the most advanced division in Baroda, which is, I find, the Navsari Division, the percentage of those who are at school to the total population is nearly 13 as against 6·8 for Broach — about double. So those figures after all really do not help the Hon'ble Member very much. The Hon'ble Member says that the

percentage of attendance in Baroda to the total population is 8·5. I have got with me the report for 1911, which is recent enough, and I find there that the proportion for the whole State of those who are in primary schools is 9·5 and not 8·5 : 8·5 is the attendance in village schools only. The proportion of all who are receiving primary education is 9·5. I will show the report to the Hon'ble Member afterwards if he likes; I have got it here with me. In your most advanced district in British territories — Broach — it is 6·8. Already this makes a difference. If you allow things to go on like this, will it take long for the British Government to lag behind Baroda — a contingency which, I am very glad to see, the Hon'ble Member regards with horror ?

Then, Sir, the Hon'ble Member relied on the support of the Bombay Corporation. Let me warn him again that he is leaning on a broken reed indeed. The Bombay Corporation is not only in favour of the principle of free and compulsory education, but it would like to throw the whole cost, or nearly the whole cost, on Imperial revenues. Is the Hon'ble Member prepared to accept that ? Let him part company with the Bombay Corporation while there is yet time. He also spoke of the Malabar District Board's opinion that it is better to improve education than to go in for universal education. Who proposes universal education straight off ? We propose that we should only make a beginning in the direction of compulsory education and gradually advance, in the course of 10, 15 or 20 years. All the objections that are based on the assumption that we propose to go in straight for universal education are based on a misapprehension and therefore need not be considered any further. In this connection I would like to notice one remark which fell from the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp about the banishment of illiteracy. I am not so simple as to imagine that if you introduce compulsion in a few areas you will banish illiteracy straightway from the whole land. But the problem is a vast one; let us take it in hand at once and make a beginning, that is what I say. Unless you make a beginning at once, the prospect is not very cheering.

Trained Teachers and School Houses

Sir, one of the most important points raised in this discussion — it has been urged by several members — is this: first have schools, first have trained teachers and then propose that education should be made compulsory. Now, those who will go through the parliamentary discussions of 1870 will find in the volumes of Hansard that the same arguments were urged in England when the Act of 1870 was proposed. Where are the teachers? Where are the schoolhouses ? That was what was urged against that measure. But I would like to ask : what is really meant by this objection. If you call upon a local body merely to build schools, if you call upon either Local Governments or local bodies merely to have trained teachers without saying where they are to work, do you think anybody would take such a proposal seriously ? Not unless you gave the local bodies at the same time the power to compel attendance. If a school is

built or hired, local bodies should have the power to fill the school at once. They cannot build a school and then, with doors thrown open, wait for any stray children to walk in. You must give them the power to compel attendance simultaneously. That is what the English Act of 1870 did. It compelled local authorities to provide school accommodation. But at the same time it empowered them to compel attendance at school, no doubt in a permissive way, as this Bill does. What I say is, that the two things must go hand in hand; you cannot urge that one thing should come before the other. It is the same thing about teachers : you must be satisfied with untrained teachers for a time. After all, too much has been made of trained teachers; not that I depreciate the value of trained teachers, but for the purpose of giving the most elementary type of education — for imparting a knowledge of the 3 R's — I think even untrained teachers are not as useless as they are depicted. Most of the Indian members in this Council received their primary education under untrained teachers. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp said that he had *visited* thousands of primary schools: Sir, we have *learnt* in primary schools. We have experience from the inside of these schools.

Lower Primary Schools

How did we receive our primary education? I remember how I did it. We used to squat on the floor with a wooden board in front of us covered with red powder and a piece of stick to write letters with. Well, we have done fairly well in life after all, though we received our primary education in that way under untrained teachers. It is a question of removing illiteracy first of all. And here I should like to quote an important authority — the authority of the Bombay Government. Two years ago, Sir George Clarke — I think it was in his Convocation speech — took the same line that the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education took yesterday and the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp did today. ' You must first have trained teachers; the quality of education must be raised; you must have proper school-houses, and so on. ' Last year, however, he came round to the other view. A Resolution was issued by the Bombay Government (I do not know whether my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Enthoven was then Secretary in the Education Department in Bombay) on the spread of primary education in rural areas. And what does that Resolution say ? It gives up the insistence on trained teachers and good school-houses, and it proposes to place primary education on an indigenous, aided basis in rural areas, giving grants to untrained teachers and allowing them to teach as well as they can, the curriculum of course being under the control of the Department. Now, this is precisely what we want all over the country to begin with. First establish at once these lower primary schools, then go on, as you have funds, improving the standards, bringing in trained teachers, and having better school-houses. And for God's sake do not wait for your trained teachers, for your decent school-houses, till you take up the question of removing illiteracy from the land in hand. That is really the whole of my contention.

Question of Cost

I wish now to turn to the question of cost, and will only deal very briefly with it. The Hon'ble Member said he would like to take Rs. 10 as the figure per head. I meet him there with official authority. Mr. Orange — no amateur — in charge of Education before the Department was created — Director-General of Education — in an estimate that he prepared, not for a discussion in this Council, but for Government, took Rs. 5 as the average cost per head : the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp will correct me if I am wrong; I know he cannot, because he knows that I am right. Mr. Orange took Rs. 5 per head. I think that that estimate holds the field and any mere vague statements that it might be more than this, that it might be 6 or 7 or 10 rupees, we are not bound to accept till the Hon'ble Member challenges the estimate of Mr. Orange and proves it to be an underestimate. And if we take Rs. 5 per head, the figures I have given are quite correct. Sir, I have already dealt with the argument that if compulsion is introduced in advanced areas, the spread of education in backward areas will suffer. I should deplore any action that could produce such a result; but I am sure there is no real foundation for the fear. How can any one imagine that those who want to see free and compulsory education all over the country would be a party to any scheme which would retard, instead of promoting, education in backward areas ?

Practical Programme Essential

Sir, there is one more point and I shall have done. The Hon'ble Member spoke yesterday of the desirability of such questions being dealt with by Local Legislative Councils. I have no objection to that. If Local Legislatures will take up this question and empower local bodies within their limits to introduce compulsion, I have no objection. Only I hope that that will not absolve the Government of India from the responsibility of finding the money, because it is essential that the Government share of the cost of compulsion should come out of the Exchequer of the Government of India, no matter what the estimate is. Sir, to those who profess to be appalled by the amount of money that will be required, I will mention only one fact. The military expenditure of this country owing to the exigencies of the State — I will not enter just now into its justification or otherwise — has risen in 35 years from 16 crores to about 31 crores of rupees per year — an increase of 15 crores. It was 16 crores at the end of Lord Ripon's administration; it is nearly 31 crores now. If our military expenditure could be increased by 15 crores like this because the State thought it necessary to find the money, the spread of education, which is surely just as important as the defence of the country, has also a similar claim on Government revenues, whatever amount is actually required. And I am quite sure the State will be able to find the money, if the Government of India do not try to throw the responsibility on Local Governments. On this condition, I do not object to Local Legislatures taking up this question. Sir, the whole ques-

tion, as my Hon'ble friend Mr. Jinnah[1] has pointed out, is, what is your practical programme, whether you propose to secure universal mass education in this country in a reasonable time, or whether you want to wait for an indefinite time. The Hon'ble Mr. Sharp has given us the figures for the last five years. I have worked out the calculation from the figures I have here and it comes to an increase of about 120,000 boys a year. Take the difference between the figure at the beginning and the figure at the end, and divide it by 5. The result is not 240,000 as the Hon'ble Member said. I admit that 120,000 is better than 75,000, but the whole question is, what is the practical programme before us? Do we expect to cover the whole of this field in a reasonable time, or do we want to leave it to the future indefinitely ? In one case another century will have to elapse before the whole problem is solved; in the other case, proceeding on the lines on which most of the civilized countries have proceeded, we shall be able to solve this problem in about twenty years or so. I therefore urge that the question of compulsion must be taken in hand at once; and taking into consideration the fact that there is this increased awakening in the country both on the side of the people and of the Government for primary education, and considering that the State is more willing now to find the money, I for one feel that we are not so far from compulsion after all, as some people seem to imagine. Sir, I ask that this motion should be put to the vote.

[The motion was put to the vote and negatived, 13 voting for and 38 against]

[1] Mr. M. A. JINNAH (1876-1948); a staunch Congressman and a Nationalist Muslim; was known as " Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity"; resigned from Congress (1920); elected to Imperial Legislative Council (1910 and 1916); and to the Indian Legislative Assembly (1926 and 1934); attended first Round Table Conference in London (1930), advocated separate Muslim electorates; propagated the " Two Nation " theory; proclaimed Pakistan as his goal (1940); first Governor-General of Pakistan (1947).

EXTENSION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION

At a meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on Tuesday, the 25th February 1913, *Gokhale moved the following resolution :*

That this Council recommends to the Governor-General in Council that all papers, including correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State[1] on the one hand and between the Government of India and Provincial Governments and Administrations on the other, relating to the scheme outlined by the Under Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons last July, on the subject of the extension of Primary Education in this country, be laid on the table of the Council.

Government Resolution on Education

He said : Sir, under the rules of this Council notice of this motion had to be sent to the Secretary more than a fortnight ago, and therefore, when I drafted that motion, I had not before me the Resolution on the subject of Education which the Government of India have just issued. If I had had that advantage at that time, I should probably have worded the motion somewhat differently, though in essence it would have come to the same thing. Before I proceed to deal with this motion, I would like to take this opportunity to offer my sincere congratulations to the Hon'ble Member in charge of the Education Department and to the Government of India on this Resolution. It is a declaration of educational policy which to my mind is easily the most important that has been made in the course of the last 30 years. Of course education is a subject that bristles with controversial points, and on such a subject no one can expect absolute unanimity of opinion, and I am sure the Hon'ble Member himself will not be surprised if he finds that some parts of the policy which he has enunciated encounter serious criticism, and even opposition, in the country. Some of us may also consider that his policy, even where it is free from objection, is not adequate. But whatever our views may be on these points, I am sure all will be united in recognizing the high purpose, the clear and comprehensive gaze and the enthusiasm for education which are displayed in this Resolution. And I go further and say that, if this policy is adequately financed and if it is carried out in the right spirit, by which I mean in a purely educational spirit only, without importing into it political considerations or political bias — and this is a matter which does not rest with the Hon'ble Member alone, it is a matter which rests even more largely with Local Governments, and in the last resort with the various officers through

[1] Marquess of Crewe (1858-1945); Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (1892-95); Leader, House of Lords (1908); Colonial Secretary (1908); Secretary of State for India (1910-15); British Ambassador to France (1922-25).

whom Local Governments have to work — if, I say, these two conditions are fulfilled, namely, if the policy is adequately financed, and if it is carried out in the right spirit, I have no doubt it will have far-reaching results, and this Resolution will come to be regarded as the third great land-mark in the educational history of our country, the despatch of 1854 being the first and the Educational Commission's Report of 1883 being the second. It is a curious coincidence that these pronouncements should have come after an interval of 30 years in each case. The Education Commission's Report was submitted about 30 years after 1854, and this comes 30 years after 1883.

Review of Past Discussions

Sir, this is a new Council. It is a new Council not only in name, but very largely in reality, for I find that of those non-officials who sat in the last Council, only six or seven have come back to this Council. I think therefore that I may be permitted to refer very briefly to the important discussions on this subject of primary education that took place in the last Council in the three successive years from 1910 to 1912. The first discussion took place when a Resolution suggesting that elementary education should be made compulsory and free or rather that a beginning should be made in that direction, was submitted to the judgment of this Council in the year 1910. I well remember the surprise with which some of the proposals that were then elaborated were regarded by the official member in charge of Education. There was no separate Minister for Education then, and Education rubbed shoulders with Police and Jails and various other departments in the comprehensive charge of the Home Member. And I well remember the surprise with which the Home Member of that time, Sir Harvey Adamson,[1] regarded some of the proposals which were then elaborated in the course of the discussion. That was the first discussion that took place on the subject in the last Council. The second discussion took place when a private Bill was introduced in 1911, embodying the principal proposals that were brought forward in the year 1910.

The Bill was allowed to be introduced by the Hon'ble Member in charge of Education. By that time the Education Department had come into existence, and the present Member was then in the Council as the Member of Government responsible for education. He allowed the Bill to be introduced; he was in no hurry to slay it and he referred it to Local Governments and to local bodies for their opinion. During the whole of 1911 there was a continuous discussion in the country on the principles of that Bill. And the Bill came up again before the Council last year, 1912, for its next stage, namely, the reference to Select Committee. By that time, however, the Hon'ble Member had made up his mind to oppose the Bill and of course at his instance the Bill was thrown out. But it was not all labour lost, because we had from the Hon'ble Member on the occasion a declaration, which in many respects was a striking declaration coming from a Member of Government. It committed

[1] See foot-note on p. 85.

the Government for the first time in the history of education in this country to a policy which ultimately would lead to free and compulsory education for the country. This is what the Hon'ble Member said at that time :

> I say at once, my Lord, that I am really sorry to find myself in opposition to the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale and those who support his motion. We are all really working for the same object. I should rejoice no less than they to see a condition of things in India in which elementary vernacular education could be free and compulsory. The Government of India are deeply concerned to bring about such a condition of things. We are convinced of the necessity of breaking down illiteracy in the country ;

and he closed his speech with a statement which evoked great enthusiasm among many non-official members of this Council. He said :

> Though our views may differ as to means, we are all united as to the end- the Government of India, the Local Governments, the Departments of Public Instruction and enlightened public opinion — are single-eyed as to the end in view. We are determined, resolutely determined, to combat ignorance through the length and breadth of this ancient land up and down, and to and fro, and though the struggle may be long and arduous, I do believe, my Lord, with all my heart I do believe, we shall prevail.

Government's Proposals for Extension of Primary Education

After this we naturally expected that an early opportunity would be taken to publish the definite proposals which the Government had in their mind when the Member in charge of Education made that statement. Nothing further was however heard in the matter till the Indian Budget came up for discussion before the House of Commons, when a further stage was reached and some indication was given to us as to what those proposals were, and that was in the speech of Mr. Montagu, the Under Secretary of State for India. Mr. Montagu endorsed for the most part the arguments of the Hon'ble Member against the Bill which had been thrown out. I will not trouble the Council with that, but he also endorsed the view expressed by Sir Harcourt Butler, that education was bound to be free and compulsory in this country as it had been free and compulsory elsewhere, only, he said, the time for that is not yet. This is what he said :

> Universal and free education in India must come as it has come in all other countries, but the time is not yet, and I am confident that the Government of India has a policy dictated for the present by the same hopes and aims as the hopes and aims of Mr. Gokhale. We have no attitude of hostility towards the principles which inspire his Bill. We and he are working for the same end, the breaking down of illiteracy in India;

and he proceeded, in his speech, to give an idea as to what the Government had in view as their policy. He spoke of it as the alternative plan of Government, and he concluded as follows :

The programme which we hope to work up to in time is as follows. We desire to increase the total number of primary schools by 90 thousand, or 75 per cent, and to double the school-going population. The schools will cost £25 each per year, and they will be placed in villages and other centres of population which are at present without schools. We are going to improve the existing schools which now only cost about £10 a year, and the cost of these will probably have to be doubled.

Briefly speaking, the scheme of the Government, as announced by Mr. Montagu, came to this. There was to be both expansion and improvement. The expansion was to be with £25 schools. The improvement was to work up the £10 schools that existed in the country to about £20 schools. There were to be trained teachers as far as possible, and no teacher was to receive less than Rs. 12. This, however, was in two important respects quite vague. There were two essential gaps and a prominent member of the Opposition, Lord Ronaldshay, asked the question in what time the Government proposed to carry this out — a most pertinent question; to that Mr. Montagu merely replied :

I cannot give the period. As I am going on to say, it must take *very considerable time*.

Well, Sir, one expected that after this statement by Mr. Montagu in the House of Commons the Government of India would lose no time in publishing their proposals in this country. We however waited and waited; but, till the time I had to send notice of my motion, nothing had appeared. I thought, therefore, that the best thing to do was to ask for these papers, namely the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the one hand, and between the Government of India and the Local Governments on the other. I did this because it was quite clear from the speech of Mr. Montagu that a programme of expansion had been definitely drawn up though its details were carefully withheld from the public. Now if there, was a programme, it must have received the sanction of the Secretary of State, which meant that it must have been sent up by the Government of India to the Secretary of State; if it was, therefore, to be found anywhere, it must be in the correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. At the same time I thought that such a programme as this would not be submitted by the Government of India to the Secretary of State without consulting the Local Governments, because education is a charge which has been made over to Local Governments and Administrations. Therefore, it appeared to me to be the best plan to ask for correspondence between the Government of India and the Secretary of State on the one side, and the Government of India and the Local Governments on the other.

Both Resolution and Government Proposals Inadequate

Since notice of this motion was given, however, as I have already observed, the new Resolution of the Government on the subject of education has been

given to the public. When I saw this Resolution in the train the other day on my way here (Delhi) from Calcutta, I turned naturally with the utmost eagerness to the portion referring to primary education in the hope that the gaps, the most important gaps in the speech of Mr. Montagu, would be found supplied in this Resolution. And I must say that I was greatly disappointed. Precisely the same reticence that characterized Mr. Montagu's speech on those points also characterizes this Resolution. In certain respects the Resolution is undoubtedly fuller. In enunciating the principles underlying the policy of the Government in regard to primary education, this Resolution is fuller than the speech of Mr. Montagu, but in regard to the programme to be worked up to, it goes no further than Mr. Montagu. It repeats the figures which Mr. Montagu gave but keeps us still in the dark as to how those figures have been arrived at, and in what period the proposed results are to be achieved. Now, Sir, I want this programme. I think the country is entitled to know what it is. This is a matter in regard to which we are entitled to be taken into confidence. If the programme is to be carried out, let us know really how the Government mean to carry it out. Let us know what are the resources which the Government propose to devote to this programme so that it might be achieved. If the Hon'ble Member will give us this programme and point out how he proposes to achieve it, I shall not press him for the publication of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, or between the Government of India and the Local Governments. Sir, during my 25 years' study of public questions, I have had to wade through piles and piles of official correspondence, and I have not much appetite left for it. I am not unduly curious about official correspondence : it is not always interesting reading; it is not always even profitable reading, and, therefore, I am not particular whether this correspondence is published or not. If only the Hon'ble Member will give us the programme — and we are entitled to have this programme,— if he will tell us in what time he will carry it out, well, I will not press for the publication of these official papers. Sir, let the Council look at the language which the Hon'ble Member employs in this Resolution as regards the time in which this programme is to be achieved. He says that it is the hope of the Government of India that in the not distant future the number of schools and of the school-going population will be doubled. He does not put it any stronger than that it is the *hope* of the Government.

No Time-Limit for Implementation of Programme

Now, it is obvious that unless you definitely say in what time you are going to double your schools and your school-going population, the declaration may conceivably come to nothing. Sir, this country is advancing and will continue to advance, and in 40, 50, 80 or 100 years, the school-going population may double itself and even more than double itself, even if no special efforts are made. Therefore, if you merely say that at some future time — the exact words are 'in the not distant future' but they are perfectly vague — if you say that

at some time not far removed from the present the school-going population will be doubled, those who are keen on the spread of education in India will not find much comfort in that. Sir, this is an ancient land, with its roots going far back into the past, and in the opinion of some, a few decades one way or the other may not matter. I therefore want to know what the idea of the Hon'ble Member is as to this not very distant future. What is this not very distant future of which the Hon'ble Member speaks ? I think we are entitled to be told what it is. Whether the policy of Government is adequate or not will really depend on what is the period in which the Government proposes to accomplish this object.

Reticence on Finance for the Scheme

It is the same about the finance of the scheme. Nowhere do we find any definite statement. Here and there there are no doubt hints as to what the cost of this scheme is going to be. These hints I have pieced together, and I have been able to form some idea of what must be in the mind of Government as to the cost. It seems that the cost of the programme will be at least about six crores a year for the primary education of boys and girls. I arrive at that in this way. Mr. Montagu speaks of doubling the cost of existing schools, the average cost being raised from £10 a school to about £20 a school. The present cost of boys' primary schools from all sources is roughly a million. This is to be doubled, which means two millions, that is, another extra million or a crore and a half must be found for existing schools.

Again as to new schools; there are to be 90,000 more at a cost of £25 each school. That comes to $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores for new schools and $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores for the existing schools, or 5 crores in all. Then there must be some provision for training teachers, for inspectors, etc. There must also be the increased cost in connection with the improvement and expansion of girls' schools. I do not know what figures are contemplated under these heads, but if we put all that at a crore at the least it comes to about 6 crores and probably more. If I am wrong in this, I hope the Hon'ble Member will correct me. Thus so far as the cost of the programme is concerned, one can form some idea. But the most important question is in what time are you going to reach this expenditure of 6 crores a year ? If you propose to reach it in 40, 30 or even 20 years. I say there is not much in that. If you are going to reach it, say, in ten years, that, I admit, will be something.

I tried to calculate this morning how long it would take at the present rate of progress to have our schools and school-going population doubled, and the results were very depressing. Taking the figures on which the Hon'ble Member and his Department have been priding themselves most, namely, the figures for the last four years, we find that the progress of education has been at the rate of about (taking boys' schools only) 130,000 boys a year — not 240,000 as the Hon'ble Mr. Sharp incorrectly said last year and as Mr. Montagu, following Mr. Sharp, stated in the House of Commons. In 1906-07 there

were 34 lakhs of boys in primary schools. In 1910-11 there were 39·2 lakhs. The increase was 5·2 in four years. That means an annual increase of a lakh and thirty thousand. Now, the hope of the Hon'ble Member is to see the present school-going population doubled, that is, instead of $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions he would like to have 9 millions — another $4\frac{1}{2}$ millions. This will require more than 30 years if the annual rate of increase is 130,000 which is the rate for the last four years.

Again, if we turn to the number of schools, we find the number has risen at the rate of about 1,250 schools a year during the last four years, and if we are to wait for the 90,000 additional schools to be reached at this rate, we shall have to wait for 75 to 80 years. There is not much comfort to be found in these figures and I once again earnestly ask the Hon'ble Member to publish his programme to the country. Sir, I ask this should be done because I feel strongly on the subject. I feel, that unless the Hon'ble Member and his Department definitely commit themselves and commit the Government to a programme published in the full face of the country, this scheme, promising as it is, may come to very little after all. We have experience of this kind of thing happening in the past. When Lord Ripon's[1] Government issued their famous Resolution in passing orders on the recommendations of the Education Commission[2] of 1882, we all thought there was going to be an immense expansion of education. And yet in a very short time there was a complete change of policy. Frontier affairs assumed a threatening aspect, increased military preparations, the invasion and conquest of Upper Burma — fall in the exchange value of the rupee — all these things followed in quick succession, with the result that instead of increased subventions to Local Governments which Lord Ripon's Government had promised for the extension of education Lord Dufferin's[3] Government actually issued orders calling upon Local Governments to cut down their educational expenditure. Unless therefore the Hon'ble Member definitely secures growing resources for education, unless the educational expenditure of the country is put on the same level as say, military expenditure, so that money must be found for it whether finances are good or bad, whether there is famine or no famine, whether the opium revenue is in existence or not in existence, unless the Government are prepared to find this money for education in the same way as they find money for military expenditure, I am afraid that it will not be possible for us to place much reliance on the scheme. I of course mean no offence to the Hon'ble Member or his Department in saying this, and I am sure the Hon'ble Member knows I mean no offence; but the Hon'ble Member will not be in charge of this Department always, and more than that, there are changes in so many directions taking place that unless the thing is actually put down in black and white, and the Government accepts it as a definite responsibility in the face of the public, I fear the Government may find itself unable in spite of its wishes to carry out this programme.

[1] See foot-note on p. 6. [2] See foot-note on p. 75.

[3] Marquis of Dufferin and Ava, Governor-General of India (1884-1888).

Request for Definite Information

My request therefore to the Hon'ble Member is to definitely give us inforl-mation on four points. First of all, what are the revenues that the Hon'be Member has secured, or, if he has not actually secured them, he expects to be able to secure from the Government. If he says he only expects to be able to get certain revenues, that of course will not be so satisfactory as if he said that he had got them, but still it would be something. But he must tell us what the financial provision is going to be. It is clear it must be a growing provision something like a series in an arithmetical progression, because you are going to cover the field in a certain number of years. And I want to know how the Hon'ble Member is going to find this money. With the opium revenue nearing extinction, he certainly will have very considerable difficulty in doing so.

The second point on which I want information is the period in which the programme is to be carried out. What is to be the period — the two things-period and finance — really go together—what is to be the period? The Hon'ble Member may say this is in no man's hands. You may take a horse to the stream but you cannot make him drink. You may open schools, but you may not necessarily be able to fill them. That, however, only confirms my view, namely, that without a resort to compulsion in some form, you cannot push on elementary education very far in this country. But we are just now consider-ing the Hon'ble Member's policy of increased efforts on a voluntary basis. If you want to try that policy, by all means try it; but then be definite about it and tell us in how many years you expect to be able to achieve your programme.

The third point on which I want information is in what proportion are you going to distribute the funds that may be available between expansion and improvement? Sir, that is a very important point. The figures I have estimated for boys' schools are, roughly, $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores for improvement and $3\frac{1}{2}$ crores for expansion. Well, in what proportion are you going to devote the additional revenues? Do you propose to take in hand improvement first? If you do that, the additional funds may be swallowed up by improvement for several years to the practical exclusion of expansion. Personally I am more anxious for expansion than for improvement in the present state of the country, but in any case I should like to know in what proportion the Hon'ble Member pro-poses to allot funds to these two objects.

Lastly, what are the actual steps you have taken or are going to take to overcome the difficulty which was so often brought up against the Bill of last year, namely, the absence of trained teachers? In this Resolution mention is made of the fact that at the present moment about 11,000 teachers are being annually trained, and that the supply is not adequate for existing require-ments. At the Allahabad Conference which was held at the beginning of 1911 under the presidency of the Hon'ble Member which I was invited to attend as a member, the question was carefully considered and certain suggestions were

made and adopted. I should like to know whether effect has been given to those suggestions, and if so, to what extent.

Sir, these are the four points on which definite information is necessary. These four points must be provided for in your programme, if the programme is of any value. I ask the Government therefore to publish the programme. The only reason I can think of for the withholding of the programme from the public is the fear that you may not be able to carry it out. But that, if I may be permitted to say so, would be a somewhat half-hearted way of proceeding about the business. I know that that description does not apply to my Hon'ble friend, for he has his whole heart in the scheme. Perhaps there is a difficulty in his path, which he cannot remove. Can it be the dragon of another department or is it the dragon of a higher authority? I do not know; but if some such difficulty exists, the country is entitled to know what that difficulty is.

Increasing Revenues for Education

One word more and I have done. You have stated that 'in the not distant future' it is your hope to see some 91,000 more primary schools for boys added. That figure again, by the way, shows that there is a programme, for if you had expressed yourselves merely in a way, you would have mentioned the figure 100,000 and not 91,000, which must be the total of smaller figures. You say it is your hope to have 91,000 more schools in some indefinite time. But since it is a matter of merely hoping and no definite time is mentioned, why not go further? Why not make an announcement that will cover the whole field? Sir, I rejoice that in the very forefront of this Resolution have been placed the words, the gracious words of the King-Emperor, words, warm with life and hope, which stirred all hearts in the country when they were first uttered. I rejoice that these words have been placed in the forefront of the Resolution. But your programme, even when fully worked up to, will fulfil those words only partially, for you will then have reached only 40 to 50 per cent of the population. Now the King-Emperor does not say that he wants the homes of only 40 to 50 per cent of his subjects to be brightened by education; he wants the homes of all his people to be so brightened. Then why stop where you do? Why not have a scheme that will cover the whole area? What I would suggest is, set aside certain steadily increasing revenues for education, and then leave it to time to work the thing out. This is the only way to tackle the problem on your own lines. The Hon'ble Member cannot hope to tackle it successfully, unless he starts on his mission fully and not partially equipped. And he will never be fully equipped unless he has resources at his disposal which are independent of chance and circumstance. If a definite programme is announced to the country, it would go to strengthen the Government in moments of weakness. If a time of difficulty arose and they were likely to feel that this expenditure was somewhat inconvenient and that it should be cut down, a definite promise given would stop them from yielding to the temptation and they would have to go on with the work just the same, even by resort-

ing to increased taxation, if necessary. And then only will the programme have a proper chance of being realized. I trust that the Hon'ble Member will consider all this and see his way to publishing the programme which he undoubtedly has submitted to the Secretary of State. If he will offer to do this, I will not press for the publication of the correspondence. If not, I shall have to press my motion to a division.

Gokhale's Reply

In his reply to the debate at the same meeting, Gokhale said :

I had hoped to hear that the Hon'ble Member was prepared to meet my request in a more substantial manner than he has chosen to do, and I must say that, on the whole, I am greatly disappointed with what has fallen from him. Why, Sir, what was only a faint suspicion in my mind before has been confirmed into a strong suspicion by the Hon'ble Member's remarks. I did fear that there was no definite finance behind the scheme, and when the Hon'ble Member proceeded to mention the difficulties of the Finance Department,—not his own,—when the Hon'ble Member mentioned the difficulties of the Finance Department which had to be taken into consideration in discussing this question, he made it quite clear that nothing definite had yet been secured in the matter of resources. The Hon'ble Member mentioned three or four circumstances which, in his opinion, advised caution. He said the country was liable to periodical famines; the Nicholson Committee[1] which had lately sat to consider the question of military expenditure had not yet submitted its report; an important Royal Commission on the Public Services in India[2] was taking evidence, and how he came to have the idea I do not know, but he somehow seems to anticipate that its recommendations will result in a large increase of expenditure; and, lastly, he spoke of the necessity of pushing on railways which, from the educational standpoint, he thought to be quite as important as schools. Well, Sir, if the expansion of primary education is to depend upon all these factors, then I for one have not much hope that anything very substantial will be achieved.

Unless the Government are going to find the money for education in good years and bad years alike, I decline to have much faith in this scheme. The Government does not proceed in this manner when it wants more money for the Army. During the last thirty years the expenditure on the Army has been

[1] Appointed to inquire into Army Expenditure (1912).

[2] The Commission was appointed in 1912 "to examine and report upon the following matters in connection with the Indian Civil Service and other civil services, Imperial and Provincial :

(1) The methods of recruitment and the systems of training and probation; (2) The conditions of service, salary, leave and pension; and (3) Such limitations as still exist in the employment of non-Europeans and the working of the existing system of division of services into Imperial and Provincial; and generally to consider the requirements of the Public Service, and to recommend such changes as may seem expedient.

increased from 15 to 31 crores,—an increase of 16 crores,—and whenever an increase in the expenditure on the army was required, the Commander-in-Chief[1] simply said,—'I want so much more money' and the money had to be found and provision had to be made. If the existing revenue of the country was insufficient for the purpose, increased taxation was resorted to. When Lord Kitchener introduced his reorganization scheme, we had to find special sums of money required for several years running. Unless the Hon'ble Member is going to fight for his scheme in the same spirit and with the same determination,—I do not know what is passing behind the curtains,—but unless he is going to take up his stand like that publicly, I do not know that much will come from the scheme.

Sir, the Hon'ble Member spoke of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Public Services resulting in a large increase of expenditure. As I have already said, I do not know how he knows this, but are we seriously to believe that in the opinion of the Hon'ble Member the demands of the Civil Service for increased pay, better prospects and higher pensions are to take precedence of educational expansion in the country, that the expansion of primary education is to be subordinated to the satisfaction of those demands? Sir, the cause of primary education, which is all-important, cannot be made and must not be made subsidiary to such claims, and I certainly am surprised that the Hon'ble Member should say that the provision that has to be made for education will have to depend upon what this Royal Commission recommends.

Again, as regards railways, railway expenditure is met out of borrowings and I do not know that that has any connection, as long as there is no net loss, with the current revenues out of which provision for primary education has to be made. Of course if the railway finance results in losses, then the losses have to be made good out of current revenues; but that is now a somewhat remote contingency, and, therefore, I think, for our present purposes, we may well put railway expenditure out of account.

As regards the Nicholson Committee, if that Committee's labours are going to lead to an increase of military expenditure instead of leading to its reduction, as we had all hoped it would, that, again, is a matter which will have to rest on its own basis. My contention is that the question of primary education is second to no other in importance, and if you are firm in your desire to find money for it you must do so independently of the money you may require for the Army, and for other purposes.

Lastly, as to the country being liable to periodical famines. Of course we are constantly liable to famines in this country. And we never can say when there will be no famine. We never can have that sense of security, but that does not prevent the Government from pledging the country to expenditure in

[1] Earl. Kitchener of Khartoum (1850-1916); Field-Marshal; member of a joint English, French and German commission to delimit the territory of the Sultan of Zanzibar (1885); Governor-General of Eastern Sudan (1886-88); Commander-in-Chief in India (1900-1909); British Agent and Consul-General, Egypt (1911); Secretary for War (1914-16).

advance in other directions. If the Government do not wish to publish their programme because that would commit them definitely to certain expenditure, I say they had no right and I say they had no business to make public use of that programme for their own purposes. I say Mr. Montagu[1] had no right to make use of this programme in his budget speech, and the Hon'ble Member had no right to put all those figures in the Resolution that has just been issued. The result of the procedure adopted has been to produce a misleading impression. Men in England are easily satisfied about Indian affairs. They do not know much and I fear they care even less. They will now think that the Government of India has embarked on a policy which will soon result in doubling the school-going population. This is quite enough for their purposes. There are many men in this country too who do not understand the deeper intricacies of public affairs, and who too will now merely repeat the same cry and feel satisfied. I must confess that I am disappointed that the Hon'ble Member has declined to publish the programme. He offers us instead some details for the next three years. That will not suffice, and I have therefore no option but to divide the Council.

[The resolution, when put to the vote, was rejected,
19 voting for and 37 against.]

[1] See foot-note 1 on p. 91.

PART II

OTHER INDIAN SPEECHES

EDUCATION IN INDIA

The following Address was delivered by Gokhale at the Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Bombay Graduates' Association, on 11th April 1896:

I appear before you in response to the call made on me by the Executive of the Graduates' Association. I may, however, tell you that I have ventured to comply with the request thus made to me with the greatest diffidence. And, indeed, if I had consulted my own wishes only I should never have been guilty of what, to my mind, appears to be so great a presumption. Standing here before you, I cannot help thinking of the immense distance between those who have preceded me in this office and my humble self. The first address of this kind was delivered three years ago by one who is now acknowledged on all hands to be the ablest and the most brilliant of our public men, not only in this presidency, but in the whole country-one of whose matchless leadership we are all of us so proud — I mean, our President, the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta.[1] Two years ago, the task was assigned to one whose profound intellect and profound learning have justly acquired for him the title of the Prince of Gràduates, and to whose indefatigable labours in the interests of his country for over a quarter of a century Mr. Metha paid the other day so warm and eloquent a tribute — the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Ranade.[2] Last year the choice of the Association fell on one who was, indeed, not so widely known in this Presidency as his two predecessors, but who was in every respect a most worthy and estimable educationist — one who had held for ten years, with great honour to himself and credit to his countrymen, the highest administrative post in the Educational Department available to an Indian in the country — the Directorship of Public Instruction in Berar — and who had, like Mr. Ranade and Mr. Mehta, received at the hands of the Government of India a signal mark of their confidence and respect — I mean, Rao Bahadur S. B. Jatar. Now, gentlemen, you must all feel as I feel myself,— that from these men to the individual now standing before you is a great, a lamentable descent. I admit that you cannot hope to secure a Mehta or a Ranade every year. Certainly in our own ranks we may look around us and we shall look in vain for the like of them. But because you cannot always get a first rate man, therefore it is not necessary that you should come down a great many steps at once. And I assure you in all sincerity that I can think at this moment of a dozen men at least who might well have served to break this fall. But the ways of this Association are inscrutable, and the request to deliver this year's address was pressed on me in such a manner that I felt it was not open to me to refuse. Of couse, I am sensi-

[1] See foot-note 6 on p. 22. [2] See foot-note 5 on p. 22.

ble that the Graduates' Association have paid me a great compliment. But there are some compliments which one would escape rather than receive, and I am not sure that this one does not belong to that category.

Radical Misconception of Rulers' Obligations

Gentlemen, some of our Anglo-Indian friends are in the habit of complaining that when we meet on occasions like this, we generally manage to lose sight of what the British Government have already done for us, and we only think and talk of what yet remains to be done. It is said that the work already achieved by the present Government in regard to public education is so wonderful, and their liberality in this respect bears so marked, so powerful a contrast to the apathy or ignorance of previous Governments in the matter, that really we ought to be thankfully satisfied with what we have got, and it is little less than ungrateful on our part to clamour for more. But, gentlemen, does not this line of argument betray a radical misconception of the obligations which England has voluntarily incurred in regard to the government of India, and does it not seriously detract from the worth of British rule by practically wresting from it one of its most notable features? I think that in the connection of England with India, the proudest fact for an Englishman to contemplate is the introduction into this country of Western methods of government and Western conceptions of the duties of the rulers to the ruled. Now it is not, in my opinion, consistent with the dignity of British rule that the adequacy or inadequacy of its work should be measured, not by standards which obtain in the West, but by comparing it with the work of Governments admittedly much less enlightened than itself. No, Sir, those of our critics who call upon us to be satisfied with things as they are, simply because they are better than they ever could have been under any previous Government, do not do sufficient justice to the task which England has proposed to herself in India, and which, let us all fervently hope, she will not, under God's providence, fail in the end to accomplish. It is because we appreciate the character and magnitude of this task better than our critics do that we are constantly reminding Government that what has been accomplished is only a fraction of what England has undertaken and is expected to achieve, and that if ever she should listen to the selfish cry of craven-hearted or short-sighted counsellors and feel inclined to turn back or even call halts while the goal is yet so distant, the consequences would be simply disastrous. England's performance must be judged by the character of her rule and by the measure of her undertaking and promises, and if a comparison is to be instituted, it must be between her work in India and her own work elsewhere–in the United Kingdom and the Colonies.

Comparison with England

But, gentlemen, our critics have good reason to shrink from such a comparison, which can only disclose how tremendous is the difference between what

England is doing for her own people in the matter of education and what she is doing for us here in India. A few figures will make my meaning clear. In England education is compulsory, and so every child of school-going age has to attend a primary school for a certain period. In India, taking the latest figures recently published by the Government of India, we find that on 31st March 1894, out of about 84 million children of school-going age in British India, no less than 74 millions, i.e. over 88 per cent were not attending any school, Government or private, Municipal or Local, aided or unaided. In England primary education is free, and even books and slates are supplied to the scholars free of cost. In India the Educational Department insists that, as a rule, no more than a certain small percentage of scholars only should be educated free in schools maintained by Government or public bodies, or receiving aid from public funds. In our Presidency the exemptions thus allowed must not exceed 15 per cent, and the spirited controversy, which my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Setalwad[1] had more than a year ago, with the Bombay Government in the matter, has brought prominently before the public several curious features of the Bombay system. Last year there were 31,268 inspected primary schools in Great Britain and Ireland for a total area of 120,979 square miles, which gives about one school for every 4 square miles. The figure of inspected primary schools in British India in the same year was 75,285 for an area of 964,993 square miles, which means about one school for every 13 square miles. Last year there were over 32,000 persons receiving University education in the United Kingdom, out of a total population of less than 40 millions. On the other hand, during the same year, here in British India, out of a total population of 23 crores, only 16,000 students were receiving collegiate education. And yet there are persons who are never weary of telling us that we are having too much of higher education in this country! The grant in the United Kingdom last year from the Imperial Treasury to meet the educational requirements of a population of less than 40 millions was close on 10 millions sterling. During the same year in British India the grant out of the Provincial revenues to satisfy the educational needs of a population of 23 crores was only 90 lakhs of rupees.

Comparison with the Colonies

If we turn from the United Kingdom to the Colonies, the comparison is equally unfavourable to the Government of India. In Canada and the Australian Colonies education is compulsory and every child of school-going age has to be under instruction. It is also free, and the subsidies of Government in

[1] Sir Chimanlal H. Setalwad; Lawyer and Liberal leader; member, Bombay Legislative Council and of the Imperial Legislative Council; member, Southborough Committee on Franchise (1918); member, Hunter Committee to inquire into the Jallianwala Bagh massacre (1919); attended the Indian Round Table Conferences (1931 and 1932); Vice-chancellor, Bombay University for twelve years; President, Indian Liberal Conference (1929).

my concern, however, is more with the present & the future than with the past, & here I repeat that unless the old faith of the educated classes in the character & ideals of British rule is brought back, England will find on her hands before long another Ireland — and many times bigger — in India. The younger generations are growing up full of what may be called Irish bitterness & the situation must fill all who believe in the peaceful progress of the country under British rule with anxious apprehensions. If India is to attain self-government within the Empire — an idea, which, from increasing proportion of my countrymen, appears to be a vain dream, — the advance will have to be along several lines more or less simultaneously. Of these in some

Facsimile of Gokhale's handwriting.

some cases are so large as to "stagger credibility." In the Provinces of British Columbia and the North-West Territories in Canada, for instance, the schools are supported wholly by Government. The same is the case with the Colony of Victoria in Australasia. The African Colonies do not yet possess the settled character of the older settlements, but even there the education of white children is practically compulsory, and in the case of poor children free. Even our tiny little neighbour of Ceylon — which seems designed by Nature to be to India what the Isle of Wight is to England — is miles and miles ahead of us in this matter. Last year out of a total population of school-going age of 4½ lakhs, nearly 170,000 were under instruction, which gives a percentage of 38 as against 11 for British India. The percentages of total State expenditure on education to total revenue in each case also possess a kind of melancholy interest for us. In order that the comparison should be as fair as possible, I will take in each case only the total taxation revenue, and in the case of India, I will omit from the total figures given under "Principal Revenue Heads" not only the revenue from Provincial rates, but even the opium revenue as for the most part contributed by the foreign consumer. The percentages for the last year work thus :

Name	*Taxation Revenue*	*Millions in*	*State Expenditure on Education*	*Percentage*
United Kingdom	£ 78·7		£ 96	12·5
Canada	$ 27·9		about $ 3	10·7
New South Wales	£ 4·7		£ 0·61	12·5
New Zealand	£ 2·3		£ 0·44	19
Victoria	£ 2·5		£ 0·64	25·7
Ceylon	Rs. 10·85		Rs. 0·604	5·5
British India	Rs. 525·2		Rs. 9·03	1·7

So far we have been taking, what may be called, the statistical view of these statistics. If we further consider them dynamically, the feeling of dissatisfaction is likely to turn into one of despair. In 1891, for instance, the grant to education in the United Kingdom out of the Imperial treasury was less than 6 million sterling. Last year it was close on 10 million sterling, an actual increase of nearly 4 million pounds in four years ! In British India, on the other hand, the expenditure on education out of provincial revenues in 1891 was 88.91 lakhs of rupees. Last year it was 90.3 lakhs — an increase of less than 1½ lakhs. And even this contemptible increase of 1½ lakhs cannot indicate any extension of educational operations, since the figure for 1891 included no charge for Exchange Compensation Allowance, whereas last year this charge must have been over, rather than under, 1½ lakhs, seeing that for the Education Department of the Bombay Presidency alone it was put down at Rs. 40,000 in last year's Provincial budget. Again, ten years back the State expenditure

on education in India was 30 per cent of the total expenditure on education from all sources. Four years back this percentage was 28. Last year it was 27. In 1886, the expenditure from Provincial revenues on education was 86 lakhs. This gives an increase of 4 lakhs in 10 years. To this, however, must be added the sum of 9 lakhs, which, till 1886, was administered by the Education Department of Bengal, and which was, in that year, handed over to local bodies. The total increase in State expenditure on education is thus 13 lakhs in the last ten years. How pitiful is this increase compared with the vast growth of military and civil expenditure that has taken place during the same period! Even what is known as "Political" expenditure beyond the frontier shows during this period an increase of 46 lakhs for the purpose of increasing the subsidies of the Amir and other frontier chiefs, paying increased amounts to the tribal levies, and giving increased allowances to the Swatis and Bajouries and other tribes! Well may a student of Indian finance exclaim, as a recent writer has done, that, in the opinion of the British Government, the doubtful and enforced allegiance of these semi-barbarous tribes is of more consequence to the peace and glory of the Empire than the moral and intellectual elevation of the Indian people !

Review of Indian Educational Policy

Now, gentlemen, what can be the real explanation of so woeful, so culpable a neglect of so surpreme a duty! We know that the Government started fair. The Despatch of 1854, which the Education Commission rightly described as the great charter of Indian Education unreservedly accepted the most solemn responsibilities in the matter. "Among many subjects of importance," the Court of Directors announced,"none can have a stronger claim to our attention than that of education. It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, as far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from the general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may, under Providence, derive from her connection with England." Speaking of this Despatch, the Education Commission thus wrote : "In 1854 the education of the whole people of India was definitely accepted as a State duty and the Court of Directors laid down with fulness and precision the principles which were to guide the Indian Government in the performance of this great task. Their Despatch of 1854 still forms the charter of education in India, and after the East India Company itself had disappeared, its principles were confirmed by the Secretary of State in the Despatch of 7th April, 1859." It is thus clear that the Indian Government have accepted, in the matter of education, the same responsibilities that the Imperial and Colonial Governments are respectively discharing in the United Kingdom and the Colonies today. The beginnings, indeed, were all that could be desired, but the work was never pushed on with anything like the vigour which has, for instance, characterized the efforts of the English Government for some time past. In 1882, as many of

you are no doubt aware, Lord Ripon[1] appointed a Commission[2] to inquire into the conditions of education in the country. The inquiry was of a most elaborate character; and the Commission's Report is one of the weightiest and most interesting documents ever published in India. Now in concluding their financial summary, the Commissioners thus wrote: "It seems inevitable that our recommendations must lead to increased expenditure in two directions." And again, "we believe that if the Indian Government are to recognize adequately the great task before them, increased expenditure will be required." And further on, "the most advanced province of India still fails to reach 75 per cent of its male children of the school-going age, and 98 per cent of its female children of that age. While in one province, with its total population of both sexes exceeding 44 millions, nearly 92 boys in every hundred are growing up in ignorance, and female education has hardly begun to make any progress. The Census returns are equally conclusive in showing the magnitude of the work that remains to be done before education in India can be placed upon a national basis." The Government of Lord Ripon, in their resolution on the Commission's Report, admitted the justice of these views. And after expressing a hope that private munificence would continue to come to the assistance of Government as in the past, they wrote: "The Local Governments should also, as far as their means permit, supplement this increased local effort by contributions from Provincial revenues. In urging on Local Governments a more liberal policy in regard to educational expenditure, the Government of India is aware that the policy is one the proposed development of which was not contemplated on the conclusion of the Provincial contracts, under which education is purely a Provincial charge. The Governor-General in Council will, therefore, should necessity arise, and should a review of the financial situation of any Local Government show that it is unable to increase expenditure on education to the extent contemplated, be prepared to consider any claims that may reasonably be put forward for assistance from Imperial revenues, and to deal with them in as liberal a spirit as the condition of Imperial finances will at the time permit."

Set-back Under Lord Dufferin[3]

But, soon after, there was a change in the Viceroyalty, Lord Ripon being succeeded by Lord Dufferin. In 1886 the new Viceroy appointed Sir A. Croft[4] to write a review of education in India, who accordingly submitted a report. And it was in passing orders on this Report that Lord Dufferin issued a resolution, which, I have always felt, has never attracted the attention or received the criticism and condemnation which were its due. In this resolution the attitude of Government towards public education is thus defined: "The Government of

[1] See foot-note on p. 6.
[2] See foot-note 2 on p. 75.
[3] See foot-note 2 on p. 151.
[4] See foot-note 1 on p. 15.

India recognizes its responsibility to provide, so far as its means permit, facilities for the education of the people. But in educational, as in other matters, it is the policy of the Government of India to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise. It pioneers the way; but having shown the way, it recognizes no responsibility to do for the people what the people can and ought to do for themselves." And after noticing the increase in expenditure during the four previous years, the resolution thus lays down the future policy: "The Governor-General in Council considers that the growth of the share borne by Local Bodies should, for the future, exhibit a more marked increase than it has done since 1885, and that there should be a tendency to decrease rather than to increase in the share which now is defrayed from the public treasury." What wonder if, after the issue of such a resolution, the State expenditure on education has continued stationary for the last four years! And how characteristic is the difference in spirit between the Ripon resolution and the Dufferin resolution — how closely corresponding to the difference between a peace-loving Viceroy and one who allowed himself to fall under the influence of jingoism, between a Viceroy of beneficent domestic reforms and a Viceroy bent upon a spirited foreign policy!

Education, Sheet Anchor of Progress

Gentlemen, it may be said that the Dufferin resolution was issued because of the grave financial embarrassment from which the country has been suffering for some time past. This explanation, however, cannot be accepted as satisfactory or adequate. Was it not during this self-same period of embarrassment that large additions were made to the military and civil charges of the country? Was it not under circumstances of even a graver financial crisis that Lord Lansdowne[1] granted that iniquitous Exchange Compensation Allowance to the European employees of Government—an allowance granted equally to him who has to make remittances to England and to him who has not; to him who had come out to India while the rupee was at 2*s.*, and to him who came after it had dropped to 14*d.*? Has not the Government only this year wantonly sacrificed a perfectly legitimate revenue of 50 lakhs to please Lancashire? Has it not seen its way to bear a permanent additional charge of a quarter of a crore in connection with Chitral to maintain what it calls its "prestige"? Has it not even been able to find money to send the Amir's son to England and pay for his board and travelling, his whims and his fancies? If the Government can do all these things, and find money to do all these things, how can it be decently urged that public education—acknowledged to be a most sacred duty — must be starved because of want of funds? If in England and the Colonies from 10 to 20 per cent of the revenue raised by taxation returns to the people in the shape of education, why should

[1] Marquis of Lansdowne (1845-1927); Under-Secretary for India (1880); Governor-General of Canada (1883-88); Governor-General of India (1888-1894); Secretary for War.

we alone be asked to be satisfied with a pittance of less than two per cent? What is there, for instance, except the want of a real desire, to prevent Government from adding to its expenditure, say, a crore of rupees — yes, a crore and even more — for discharging better this most sacred duty of education as easily as when it granted exchange compensation to its overpaid officers? But there is reason to fear that this so-called sacred duty has now ceased to be regarded as sacred, and that many members of the ruling race would seem to consider it as an ugly and inconvenient burden to be got rid of at the first decent opportunity. I cannot help saying that such a view is fraught with the gravest danger to the prosperity of the Empire. Education is the sheet-anchor of the people's loyalty, it is the sheet-anchor of the people's progress; and the expenditure incurred to educate the people will be found to be a source of strength when the subsidies to the wild tribes and the demarcations of scientific frontiers are found to fail.

Classes and Masses

Gentlemen, the apologists of Government are sometimes fond of posing as the champions of primary education as against higher education, and they thus seek to create a conflict of interests where in reality none ought to exist. Our late Governor, Lord Harris,[1] for instance, told an audience in England some time ago that because during his tenure of office he specially attempted to further the interests of the masses in the matter of primary education and other things therefore the educated classes became disaffected towards him. Gentlemen it took my breath away to read this explanation. I rubbed my eyes when I read it and asked myself — Can it be that I am reading aright? Surely Lord Harris must have felt himself reduced to very sore straits before he could have possibly thought of such a defence, for, gentlemen, you here need not be told that it is a defence which I will not call disingenuous, but which I will describe as absolutely inconsistent with that accuracy of statement which we have a right to expect from one who has occupied the exalted position of Her Majesty's representative in this country. Anyone who takes a brief survey of the administration of Lord Harris must at once see that His Lordship's great unpopularity with the people of this Presidency was chiefly due to the generally unsympathetic character of his rule and the utter contempt for public opinion which he displayed, notably in dealing with four important questions — the Mhowra Bill, the distribution of seats in the Bombay Legislative Council, the Provincial Service Rules, and the Hindu-Mahomedan disturbances. Now in none of these questions was there the shadow of a conflict of interests between the classes and the masses. The Mhowra Bill imposed a grievous hardship on the poorest part of the people of Thana and Kolaba. The distribution of seats in the Legislative Council occasioned widespread

[1] Lord Harris (1851-1932); Governor of Bombay (1890-95).

dissatisfaction because of the fact that His Lordship's scheme favoured small minorities to the disadvantage of the general community. The Provincial Service Rules were protested against, because of the blow they are sure to deal to the purity and efficiency of administration. And in the Hindu-Mahomedan riots it was the masses and not the classes that suffered most, and consequently complained most. It may also be mentioned that in regard to the first three questions, the Anglo-Indian Press of the city supported the public as against the Government at the time of the controversies. I really cannot understand how the idea could ever have entered Lord Harris's head that he became unpopular with the educated classes because of the encouragement he gave to primary education. Gentlemen, is it possible, is it conceivable, that Englishmen can be more enthusiastic, more keen on this subject of the spread of primary education than ourselves? To them, at best, it can only mean the discharge of a greater present duty. But to us it means something vastly greater than that. To us it means the future salvation of our country. Who can realize more keenly than ourselves that the fate of our country is bound up with the spread of education among the masses ? It is only when, under plea of encouraging primary education, the paltry expenditure on higher and secondary education is sought to be curtailed that the occasion for protest arises. No one objects to your paying Paul, in fact, the more the better. It is only when you propose to rob Peter for the purpose that your general good intentions naturally come to be questioned. This aspect of the question was, however, dealt with at considerable length by our worthy President three years ago in his own inimitable manner, and I need not say anything more about it on the present occasion.

Appeal to Bombay Government for Supreme Effort

I have so far described to you the more salient features of the educational situation of India. I have preferred to invite your attention to the whole country instead of limiting it to our own Presidency firstly, because in the matter of education what is true of the whole country is true also of this Presidency, and secondly, because though under the Decentralization scheme, education is one of those departments that are under the exclusive control of the Local Government, as a matter of fact, for any notable change of policy or a substantial addition to the educational budget the inspiration or pressure, call it what you will, must come from the Supreme Government. Happily for us the destinies of our Presidency are at present presided over by a nobleman, whose utterances on educational matters have so far been characterized by the deepest sympthay with the people — have had the true Ripon ring about them. May we not respectfully appeal to him to make it the glory of his regime to do for education what no one among his predecessors ever attempted to do, and extend its operations far beyond its present limits ! Here is a field for the highest kind of statesmanship — for the noblest triumphs of the art of government. Our per-

centages are undoubtedly slightly better than those for the whole country. Still the work that has already been achieved is as nothing compared with the gigantic task that yet remains unattempted. Out of the children of school-going age in this Presidency, fully 84 per cent are growing up in absolute darkness and ignorance. Out of about 25,000 villages in the Province, three-fourths or about 18,000 are as yet without a school. These are appalling figures, and they may well disturb the peace of mind of a conscientious ruler. The finances of the country are now looking up once again, and Provincial Governments may expect to be allowed greater freedom of action. I think we may well address to H. E. Lord Sandhurst[1] the same appeal that the late Mr. Telang[2] addressed to Lord Ripon thirteen years ago.

> "I hope", wrote Mr. Telang, "that the Government of Lord Ripon, which has already done so much for the country, will add the educational system to its many laurels, and achieve, directly or indirectly, the credit which Mr. M. Arnold gives to the Government of France on the Restoration after the battle of Waterloo." "To the Restoration," he says, "is due the credit of having first perceived that in order to carry on the war with ignorance, the sinews of war were necessary. Other Governments had decreed systems of education for the people — the Government of the Restoration decreed funds. The question of popular education is now mainly a question of funds. What is wanted and what we must now trust to, is not the short-sighted economies in the expenditure on higher education which have been suggested by some irresponsible reformers of our system, almost without exception, *not* natives of the country, but what is wanted is an effort on the part of the British Indian Governments to follow, at however great a distance, the Imperial Government which has in ten years increased its grant to education from £1,940,000 to £4,290,000 sterling, and a like effort on the part of the leaders of the people to help the Government in spreading the benefits of education far and wide in this great country."

Thirteen years have rolled by since this eloquent appeal was made. During this time the Imperial Government has increased its grant to education by over 5 millions sterling more, while the Indian Governments, whom Mr. Telang so earnestly implored to follow the Imperial Government in the matter, have, all put together, added not quite 20 lakhs of rupees. Of course, we must all recognize that the difficulties in the path of a Local Government attempting any large extension of education are many and serious. But with a determined purpose to overcome them, they will not, I trust, be found to be insuperable. At

[1] Lord Sandhurst (1855-1921); Under-secretary for War (1886, 1892-94); Governor of Bombay (1895-99); a member of a committee sent by the British Government to South Africa in 1906 to report on the subject of representative government for that country.

[2] See foot-note 3 on p. 22.

any rate, the magnitude of the task calls for a great, a supreme effort, and when that is made, the reward is bound to be great and the glory imperishable.

Qualitative Aspect

Gentlemen, the observations which I have so far ventured to make refer to what may be called the quantitative side of the question. But there is another aspect of it, which is scarcely less important — I mean the qualitative aspect. We see how very little of education we really have in the country; but is the article that we get at any rate of the right sort? The question has latterly received a good deal of attention, and the literature on the subject includes the very notable contributions of Dr. Bhandarkar[1] and Mr. Justice Ranade,[2] and another recent contribution, much more elaborate and certainly not less important, by my friend, Mr. Gole, the Principal of my College. I think, gentlemen, there are grave defects in our present educational system and so long as these defects are not remedied, the results of the system are bound to be of an unsatisfactory and even disappointing character. The principal defect that must strike every one who is conversant with the system, and who devotes any thought to the subject, is the fearful amount of cram that prevails on all sides of us — from the first Vernacular standard to the highest degree examination. And I have no hesitation in saying — I think that, if anything, I am under the mark in making the statement — that more than 90 per cent of our students pass through the whole of their educational course, placing their main reliance on cramming. In primary schools, in secondary schools, in colleges, it is with them one continuous, ceaseless act of cramming. Slightly altering a familiar quotation, I may say that it is all

> Cram, cram, cram, till the eyes grow dim,
> Cram, cram, cram, till the head begins to swim.

What wonder if, as soon as they finish their educational course, so many of them are seized with an insurmountable — a fatal aversion to studies of every kind. Gentlemen, the evil that I speak of is a great, real evil, and, what is worse, it is steadily on the increase. From the first Vernacular standard to any degree examination, say, the examination for the degree of B.A., the course extends over a period of 15 years, the primary school course takes four years; the High School course is of seven years, and the College course extends over four years more. An average student may take about 18 years to finish the whole of this course — he may fail once or twice in the school, once or twice in the College. Now, if you ask a young man to carry on his head a big load—and cramming is little else — for a period of 18 years continuously, to carry it about with him constantly, wherever he goes, uphill and down dale, is it strange that his growth should be stunted and he bend before his time

[1] See foot-note 2 on p. 15. [2] See foot-note 5 on p, 22.

become an intellectual and moral dwarf? Look at our primary course. Think of its dull, mechanical monotony — the same text-books, the same standards, the same methods of teaching—teachers and pupils, in the graphic words of Mr. Justice Ranade, moving round and round in the same groove for ever so many years, without expansion, without adaptability, without life. Think of this and then think of the ceaseless effort, forever going on in the West, to make instruction as interesting to the child as possible — the variety of their reading books, their numerous historical and geographical readers, beautifully illustrated, their constant endeavour to improve and perfect methods of teaching.

Mechanical Character of Education

In this connection, I may remark that I was surprised to read the other day that our Director of Public Instruction was of opinion that no revision of the text-books in use in primary schools was needed. Gentlemen, we all of us have the most unfeigned respect for Mr. Chatfield for his many qualities of head and heart, and great weight must naturally attach to his opinions on educational matters. But when he sets his face against the proposal to revise these text-books on the ground that they are likely to be considerably Sanskritised in the process, he appears to me to illustrate how any kind of change becomes unwelcome even to a person possessing a singularly clear intellect owing to a long course of familiarity with certain fixed ideas.

But, gentlemen, speaking of the mechanical inelastic character of our primary education, I must say that, though the Education Department is primarily responsible for these defects, we ourselves are in great measure also to blame in the matter. How many parents of the children attending primary schools ever trouble themselves with any questions about the character of the education which these children receive ! Most of them undoubtedly think that their duty is done when they have paid the fees for their children's instruction and supplied them with books and writing materials. Again, what are our Municipalities doing in the matter? They enjoy considerable freedom of action in such respects if only they knew how to use it. What is true of primary schools is also for the most part true of secondary schools. Here, too, we have the same mechanical methods of teaching, the same listless work on the part of boys, the same want of a living, expansive factor to suit the studies to the taste of students and make them an object of interest and delight and not a necessary burden. The boys attend school for five or six hours and devote about as many hours to what is known as home preparation which is only another expression for cramming. How very different from what they do in the great public schools of England where, among other things, a love of outdoor games is developed, which endures through life and where the foundation is laid of a manly vigorous type of character ! One would expect that things might at any rate improve when a student has completed his High School course and begins his University studies. But even here, the system of examinations, as it is with us, stands in his

way, and for the most part prevents him from straying beyond the textbooks appointed. Gentlemen, it must be said that our system of examinations is of a radically vicious character, and is responsible for a great part of the disappointing character of the work of our University.

That talented and cultured lady — the ornament of two Universities — Miss Cornelia Sorabji, delivered the other day a most delightful address to the students of my College on College life at Oxford and in India. In the course of her remarks she said that at Oxford examiners prefer a grain of original thought to a sack of cram. I do not know what is there to prevent our examiners from adopting a similar standard. Certainly one cannot conceive anything more harmful to all real studies than our present system with its marking of each question and its fanciful percentages, especially, when the system is worked, as at present, in so mechanical, I had almost said so unintelligent manner. Of course, the responsibility for the character of our higher studies does not rest solely with our University as an examining body. The Colleges also have to share this responsibility with it to a large extent. But what I mean is that the character of the examinations of the University influences very materially the character of the studies of the young men, who seek success in those examinations.

Evil of Guide Books

And as though the evil was not already great, publishers are coming forward in numbers to aggravate it. They find obliging authors — I don't know if the authors oblige the publishers, or the publishers oblige the authors, but certain it is that between them they manage to make the situation already intolerable enough in all conscience, still more intolerable. For instance, I may mention that within the last four or five years some books have been published containing sample essays for Matriculation boys. Now, I have not the remotest desire to speak in any disparaging terms of the authors of these books. They certainly must have meant well when they wrote them. But what has been the result? You may now propose for composition any subject you please to the boys in the higher standards of a High School and you find that these sample essays are freely borrowed from them in one form or another. How can it be otherwise, when these so-called sample essays are in reality essays on every conceivable subject under the sun, and when they are so readily available to the boys? The late Mr. Telang once told me that in the earlier days of the University, when a student seeking the M. A. degree in languages had to pass in English versification, the candidates used to resort to similiar methods. It is not every one, gentlemen, who can scale the heights of Parnassus, especially when one is called upon to climb them to order. What the candidates therefore did was to store their memory with a number of lines — generally borrowed from a number of places, occasionally of their own composing on a number of typical subjects during the year — subjects like the beauties of Nature, or love or

knowledge or storm, either in Nature or in the human mind, and such others, so that no matter what the subject proposed at the time of the examination might be, by a clever process of dove-tailing they generally managed to make a decent figure. If a subject like commèrçe, for instance, was proposed, the ships of the candidates would never sail without a storm and after that would come a description of the beauty of the sea after the storm had spent itself, and so on and so on. The essays that so many of our students write, are, I am sorry to say, little better than these exercises in verification. Then, again, look at the annotated editions of authors which are nowadays being issued. The editors tell us that the annotations are exhaustive. To me they appear to be not exhaustive but perfectly outrageous. When every single word is explained, every refeıence given, and even every single line paraphrased, I don't know what is left to the majority of students to do but to cram. All that discipline, which the mind derives from an effort to construe passages for itself, is entirely lost to them, which means that by far the better part of the culture which a study of literature gives is to them not available, and the evil is intensified by the examiners confining themselves generally to these annotations.

Reform of University Examinations

Gentlemen, in my humble opinion, the system of University examinations urgently calls for a reform. As it is worked at present, it is, in the case of the vast majority of students, not a test of their powers of assimilation and thought and their love of knowledge, but a test of their powers of cramming, an apparatus of torture of more or less refined cruelty. In this connection, I may say, what perhaps it is superfluous for me to say, that the two propositions recently brought forward by Mr. Justice Ranade have my most hearty concurrence. A fear has been expressed that if the propositions are adopted by the Senate, the standard of University studies will be practically lowered. I think it is a great mistake to think so. Certainly the amount of cramming will be reduced, but that is not the same thing as a lowering of the standard of studies. Gentlemen, the object of all studies must be twofold — the knowledge which you gain, which you can never call your own till it has been properly assimilated and the culture that you derive from such assimilation. Now, in the case of most of our students there is no real effort at assimilation, and consequently not much culture in reality. The results of their so-called studies are, for the most part, a load which their memory has to carry till the time of their examination, and which they therefore naturally throw away as soon as the purpose of the examination is served. Now, if by any means this load is diminished — and Mr.Ranade's propositions are calculated to bring about such a result — it ought to be a matter for satisfaction and not one for regret. For a smaller amount of cram means greater leisure to acquire and assimilate real knowledge, better scope for the healthy development of intellectual powers. Again, it is said that under Mr. Ranade's scheme a student will pass an examination in two or three instalments. Now

assuming that this were to be so, I ask : where is the harm in that? In my opinion, a student who confines himself to a few subjects each year and reaches a depth in those subjects and thus passes his examination in two or even three instalments is much better educated than one who just manages to touch the surface of all the subjects in a single year.

I remember that some time ago a movement was set on foot for effecting a reform in our system of examinations, and that it was headed by our worthy President. I do not know what has become of that movement. The great difficulty in the matter is, of course, the utterly unsympathetic character of the University Senate. A large number of the members of that body can never see eye to eye with you in such matters, simply because they have no actual connection with the work of education, nor are their children being educated here, so that they have no opportunities for observation and are beyond the baneful effects of the present system. I think, gentlemen, that membership of the Senate should, as a rule, be confined to those who are directly connected with the work of education and to the *alumni* of the University. Of course, outsiders like Sir Raymond West[1] or our present Vice-Chancellor ought to be welcomed to its ranks, but such a departure should be made only in the case of men of acknowledged learning and scholarship. As regards the large number of English lawyers and high civil and military officers of Government, who at present find a seat in the Senate almost as a matter of right, but who have no acquaintance with our system of education or the character of our studies, and who have no time to think of such matters — men who confine themselves generally to the work of voting at elections or attending a stray meeting of the Senate to vote more or less in accordance with racial prejudices — I say such men have no business to be in the Senate. Whatever necessity might have existed at one time for their appointment, the University has now clearly outgrown that necessity, and to me their position at present in the Senate appears to be wholly anomalous.

Intellectual Decadence

Gentlemen, one of the most serious problems which our educated men must face is that of the intellectual decadence which has been going on among us for some time past and which is now plainly discernible on all sides. I know there are those who do not admit the fact of this decadence. A distinguished educationist of this city, Dr. Mackichan,[2] told us about five years ago that he was no believer in this theory about decadence. We might, however, set against his authority the authority of another Englishman, than whom there is no more watchful or sympathetic observer of our progress — Mr. Selby[3] of the Deccan College. Mr. Selby is of opinion that this decadence is a fact and almost

[1] See foot-note 3 on p. 22.
[2] See foot-note 4 on p. 4.
[3] See foot-note on p. 31.

every year he notices a steady deterioration in the calibre of his students. Dr. Mackichan says that if the comparison is fairly made — the best of the present day compared with the best of the earlier days of the University — he is not afraid of the comparison. As a matter of fact, however, how grievous is the decadence, as shown by such a comparison! Where are the men in our ranks who might be compared with those intellectual giants of the earlier days — the late Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar[1] and the late Mr. Chhatre[2] — men whose love of knowledge was such that they indulged it till their very latest breath! Who among us possess the numerous intellectual gifts of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji![3] Where are the men who are likely to remain like the late Mr. Parmanand and the late Mr. Mandlik,[4] students in the best sense of the term all their lives! Where are the Ranades and the Bhandarkars in our ranks, the Telangs and the Mehtas, the Pandits and the Athalyes! Who among us possesses the restless intellectual activity of the late Mr. Kunte? Who has that passion for the study of intricate financial subjects which my friend Mr. Wacha[5] or the Hon. Mr. Javerilal has? Where will you find amongst us so finished a scholar and so earnest-minded a student as that quietest and most modest of individuals — Mr. Joshi,[6] Head Master of Sholapur High School! No, Sir, the decadence is beyond all doubt real, and moreover, it is steady. Whatever the diagnosis of the disease, the fact of the disease cannot be and must not be denied.

[1] KRISHNA SHASTRI HARI CHIPLUNKAR (1824-78); a renowned Sanskrit Pandit; Translator Exhibitioner (1852); Principal, Training College, Poona; Reporter on the Native Press (1868); translated many Sanskrit and English works into Marathi; held social reform views and was in favour of widow remarriage.

[2] VINAYAK LAXMAN alias KERO LAXMAN CHHATRE (1824-84); well-known mathematician and student of astronomy; Professor of Mathematics in the Poona College later converted into the Deccan College.

[3] DADABHAI NAOROJI (1825-1917); one of the founders of the Indian National Congress (1885) and thrice its President (1886, 1893 and 1906); founder, East India Association, London (1867); taught Gujerati in the University College. London; Dewan, Baroda State (1874); member, British House of Commons (1892); member, Welby Commission (1897); author of *Poverty and un-British Rule in India* (1901), *England's Duty to India, Financial Administration of India, etc.*

[4] VISHVANATH NARAYAN MANDLIK (1833-1889); founded and edited the Anglo-Marathi weekty *Native Opinion* (1864-1870); President, Bombay Municipal Corporation; Syndic and Dean, Bombay University; member, Bombay legislative council; his valuable collection of books was donated to the Fergusson College, Poona.

[5] DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA (1844-1936); member, Bombay Municipal Corporation for thirty years and its President (1901); member, Bombay Legislative Council, Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State; President, Indian National Congress (1901); and its General Secretary (1896–1913).

[6] G. V. JOSHI (1851-1911); educationist and statistician; joined Government service as a teacher (1873); rose to be head master; retired from Government service (1907); even while in Government service, used to write on economic problems to the newspapers under his initial J; President, Bombay Provincial Conference (1908); member, Bombay Legislative Council for a short time.

Such a decadence cannot, of course, be the result of a single cause. I think, however, that no cause can have contributed so much to bring about this result as the system of cramming, which has grown so fearfully in recent years and which threatens to grow still further, unless effective remedies are applied in time. The Sage of Chelsea — one loves to call him by that name in spite of the recent protest of Mr. John Morley — once described cramming as utterly unworthy of an honourable mind. Let our students realize this adequately. I know it is the system that is responsible more than they. But even they can do a great deal to mend matters. when they clearly perceive what an unworthy, unmanly thing it is to cram. Gentlemen, we must all lay the axe at the root of this cramming. It is a noxious tree. Under its shade no healthy life can thrive. Away with it !

Gentlemen, if ever the element of cramming is banished from our system of education, as far as it is possible to banish it, if our primary course becomes more varied, less mechanical, more interesting to the children, if public schools, with their manly influences and their healthy discipline, grow up and take the place of many of our day schools, if colleges and the University will realize their responsibilities and understand their functions better, all the graver defects of our educational system will disappear, and then will our education answer the highest expectations that may be formed of it. Then will the general level of our intelligence be raised and men become better citizens. Then will the culture of literature, the depth of philosophy, the widened horizon of history, the love of knowledge which science brings, be all available to us. Then will the present intellectual stunting be arrested. Then will our young men leave the University, as they ought to do, burning with a zeal for everything that is great and noble and honourable, with the fire of earnestness that purifies whatever it touches. Then will they think high thoughts and dream noble dreams. Then will they cherish great ideals — ideals worthy of their manhood and their education — ideals for which they will live, ideals for which they will die.

Plea for Vernacular University

Gentlemen, intimately connected with this question of our educational system is the question of our Vernaculars. We all know by this time what is said on either side of the controversy in connection with them, and I have no wish to repeat arguments which have been repeated ten times before. I may, however, tell you that personally I have not got much faith in the setting of a paper in Vernacular translation and composition at the several examinations, though I am prepared to support the proposal merely by way of asserting a principle. A better plan, I think, will be to allow candidates for the B.A. degree in Languages, to take up the Vernaculars as optional with the classical languages. But the best solution of the whole question is, in my opinion, the creation of a separate Vernacular University conferring degrees — of course, for a long time to

come, inferior to the degrees of our present University. English and Sanskrit should be compulsory second languages in the curriculum of such a University. In this way, I think, will all conflict of interest, which stands at present in the way of a due recognition of the Vernaculars by our University, be avoided and the Vernaculars receive all the incentive for their development that they need. Our middle-class men are sure to take advantage of such a University in large numbers. I think if the Native States on this side of India combine for the purpose, the task cannot be too great for them. May we not respectfully look up to H. H. the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda[1] to take the lead in this matter! His Highness is already doing so much for the education of his subjects and his interest in the development of the vernacular is so well and so widely known. The creation of a Vernacular University will be a lasting monument of the enlightenment and the beneficence of his rule.

Gentlemen, I fear I have already presumed too much on your indulgence, but there is just one point more on which I will say a word and I will conclude. I think we have a right to call upon Government to do much more than they are doing at present in fulfilment of a sacred obligation. But we must at the same time remember that single-handed, the Government will never be able to accomplish much. The magnitude of the task requires that private charity and private enterprise ought to come forward in a very marked manner to co-operate with Government in the field. All of us, great or small, rich or poor, can do something in the matter. Our Municipalities can institute scholarships to enable young men to proceed to Europe or America to prosecute their studies there. Our wealthiest men might imitate the glorious example of Sir Dinsha Petit[2] and Mr. Tata,[3] Mr. Govardhandas Khatao Makanji and Mr. Jakeria. Other men might lend their support according to their own measure. Leaders like our worthy President can give the cause the invaluable benefit of their guidance. Humbler men might contribute their share by working in the field. Each one of us can do something and spare something for this great cause. I think, in the present circumstances of our country, no subject can call forth such universal, such whole-hearted enthusiasm as public education. If anything will ever restore us to our lost glory it will be this. In the eloquent words of a recent writer, " knowledge is Heaven's light to our steps, and a nation that shuts it out, seals its own doom and cannot stand." Gentlemen, in our present fall we are paying the penalty of our past sins. For these sins

[1] See foot-note on p. 95.

[2] Sir Dinsha M. Petit (1823-1901); founded a spinning and weaving mill in Bombay; later acquired several textile mills in Bombay; Director, Bank of Bombay; made liberal financial contributions to public institutions.

[3] Jamsetjee Nusserwanji Tata (1839-1910); industrial magnate and philanthropist; founded the Empress Mill at Nagpur (1877) and Swadeshi Mill at Bombay; established the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore; founder of the Iron and Steel Factory at Sakchi, now known as Jamshedpur after him.

many of our best lives must be sacrificed on the altar of education by way of atonement. At this altar the nation must kneel for years, many and long before it can rise purified and regenerated, ennobled and strengthened, and proceed to take its place among the nations of the world.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN INDIA

Paper read by Gokhale at the Educational Congress held in connection with the Women's Section (Education) of the Victorian Era Exhibition, 1897, *in London* :

Standing here as I do, my mind cannot help being filled with thoughts in which regret and gratitude and hope are all strangely blended together. I stand before you as a representative of the only part of this great Empire which is far behind the rest in its enjoyment of the blessings of what may be called modern civilization. And yet we were the first to emerge from barbarism, and my nation was not only great, but was the greatest of all on the face of the earth, long before anyone had heard anything of the oldest states of the West. Time, however, which brings ripeness to the raw fruit brings also decay to the ripe one and the country which was once the cradle and long the home of a noble religion, a noble philosophy, and science and art of every kind, is at the present day steeped in ignorance and superstition and all the moral helplessness which comes of such darkness.

Regeneration of India

But while this reflection fills me with what you will all admit to be a natural feeling of sadness, it is coupled with brighter thoughts, for they are the thoughts of gratitude and hope. Among the many achievements and triumphs of this Victorian Era,which you are celebrating with such legitimate satisfaction, there is, to my mind, nothing comparable to the work — the thrice blessed work — of regenerating ancient India which you have on numerous occasions pledged yourselves to achieve, and which has already been so worthily begun. The situation is, in many respects, perfectly unique in the history of the world. A great Eastern civilization, stationary for many centuries, is being once again galvanized into life by reason of its coming in contact with a younger and much more vigorous civilization of the West. The retention of all that is great and noble in our national life, as it has come down to us from the past, and the fullest absorption of what is great and noble in the life of the West, as revealed to us by our connection with England — this is now the work which has to be accomplished before we can once more hold our head high as a nation. How far such an ideal union of the different elements constituting the two civilizations is possible time alone will show. The task is one of extreme difficulty but when it is achieved, if it can be achieved at all, the reward will be correspondingly great.

Indian Women Intensely Religious

A wide diffusion of female education in all its branches is a factor of the highest value to the true well-being of every nation. In India it assumes

additional importance by reason of the bondage of caste and custom which tries to keep us tied down to certain fixed ways of life and fixed modes of thought, and which so often cripples all efforts at the most elementary reforms. One peculiarity of the Indian life of the present day is the manner in which almost every single act of our daily life is regarded as regulated by some religious notion or another. We must eat, and sleep and even stand, and sit, and walk, only in accordance with certain religious beliefs, and the slightest departure from the accepted ideas in these matters is understood to increase the difficulties in the path of our salvation. And, naturally these ideas have a far stronger hold on the minds of women than of men. All who know anything of Indian women know that the turn of their mind is intensely religious — a result due in no small measure to their being shut out from all other intellectual pursuits. And this combination of enforced ignorance and overdone religion not only makes them willing victims of customs unjust and hurtful in the highest degree, but it also makes them the most formidable, because the most effective, opponents of all attempts at change or innovation. It is obvious that, under the circumstances, a wide diffusion of education, with all its solvent influences, among the women of India, is the only means of emancipating their minds from this degrading thraldom to ideas inherited through a long past and that such emancipation will not only restore our women to the honoured position which they at one time occupied in India, but will also facilitate more than anything else, our assimilation of those elements of Western civilization without which all thoughts of India's regeneration are mere idle dreams, and all attempts at it foredoomed to failure. The solution appears simple enough and yet no problem in India is surrounded with greater difficulties or requires more delicate and patient handling.

Child Marriage a Formidable Difficulty

You, in this country, who are far more fortunately circumstanced, will find it hard to realize the exact nature or the full meaning of these difficulties. You have long left behind the period when it was necessary for anyone to demonstrate to you the necessity of vindicating the dignity of female education. And practically, at the present day, the highest education which this great country of yours can provide in the different sciences and arts is freely available to your women, and is freely availed of by them. It is true that the lingering bigotry of men still tries here and there to throw small obstacles in your way, but they are, comparatively speaking, of little importance. If, for instance, men will not allow you to be called Senior Wranglers, that only enables you to claim a higher distinction — that of excelling Senior Wranglers. The freedom to acquire knowledge, and secure the culture of mind that knowledge brings, is enjoyed in this country by men and women in an equal degree, and if any individual fails to take due advantage of this freedom the responsibility for such neglect belongs to that individual or that individual's guardians, and to no one else. In India, however, the state of things is entirely different. The

position there cannot be better described than in the words of Lord Ripon's Education Commission,[1] which ran thus:

> The social customs of India, in regard to child-marriage and the seclusion in which women of the well-to-do classes spend their married life in most parts of the country, create difficulties which embarrass the promoters of female education at every step. The duration of the school-going age for girls is much shorter than that for boys. It usually terminates at nine and seldom extends beyond the eleventh year. At so early an age a girl's education is scarcely begun; and in very few cases has the married child the opportunity of going on with her education after she leaves school.

I must state here that this description does not apply to the Brahmins in Bengal, who, though Hindus by race, have broken from all Hindu traditions and have cut themselves off from the Hindu community. It does not apply to the Parsees and the Native Christians. These three classes no longer suffer from the evils of early marriages, or rather, early betrothals, and there is no enforced seclusion of married women among them; but, after all, numerically speaking, they are a mere drop in the ocean. The description is essentially true of the whole Mahomedan community, and of the vast bulk of the Hindu community. And yet, so far as the Hindus are concerned, their women occupied a much more honoured and dignified position than this at one time. There is no doubt whatever, as stated by Dr. Bhandarkar,[2] the foremost Sanskrit scholar in Western India at the present day, that in very old times Indian women were not debarred from the highest education. In the Vedic period — the remotest past of which we have any record — about five thousand years ago they were among the inspired writers of sacred hymns, on which our religion is based. In the Upanishads — philosophical writings subsequent to the Vedas — they are mentioned as taking part in the discussions of the assemblages of learned Rishis, in which the highest problems about the world and the Supreme and the Individual Soul were discussed. In our great epic poems — descriptive of a period subsequent to the Upanishads, but still considerably anterior to the Christian era — they are represented as going through a regular course of education, of which drawing, music, and even dancing (which is now considered degrading) formed part; they mixed freely with men and entered into learned discussions with them on spiritual and other difficult subjects. When Buddhism took its birth in India by way of protest against the sacrificial and ritual part of Hinduism, we find women actively assisting the reform which Buddha had inaugurated, and discussing with him abstruse points about duty, virtue and absolution. It is only when we come to the period of our dramatic literature that we perceive a tendency in women to fall behind men in learning. We then find them not as well versed as men in the classical language, but even then they could read and write and compose poetry in the popular languages. And

[1] See foot-note 2 on p. 75.

[2] See foot-note 2 on p. 15.

even so late as the Eleventh Century — the century which first attracted Mahomedan invaders to our land — we find instances of women possessing a high degree of education and engaged in intellectual pursuits. Then, almost suddenly, all light seemed to be extinguished, and for the last seven centuries our female world has been enveloped in a kind of intellectual gloom.

My friend Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt,[1] thus writes about the position of women in ancient India, in his admirable work on *Civilisation in Ancient India* :

> We cherish the picture of the cultured lady, Viswavara, which has been handed down to us through thousands of years, a pious lady who composed sacred hymns, performed sacrifices, and with simple fervency invoked the God Agni to regulate and keep within virtuous bounds the mutual relations of married couples. We meet with the names of other ladies, also, who were among the writers of the sacred hymns of the Rig Veda.

In another place Mr. Dutt writes:

> We have seen that the absolute seclusion of women was unknown in ancient India, Hindu women held an honoured place from the dawn of Hindu civilization four thousand years ago; they inherited and possessed property; they took a share in sacrifices and religious duties; they attended great assemblies on State occasions; they often distinguished themselves in science and the learning of their times. And they even had their legitimate influence on politics and administration. Considered as the intellectual companions of their husbands, as their friends and loving helpers in the journey of life, as the partners of their religious duties, and the centre of their domestic bliss, Hindu wives were honoured and respected in ancient times.

And again:

> We saw in our account of the Epic period that ladies sometimes devoted themselves to the pursuit of philosophy, that Gargi Vackanavi distinguished herself among the learned men of the Court of Janaka...
> Megasthenes is a witness to the fact that sacred learning and philosophy were not forbidden in the rationalistic period to such ladies as desired to devote themselves to such studies.

Women's Social Position Requires Improvement

Education, enlightened freedom and an honoured position in society, these — and not enforced seclusion and ignorance — are the rightful inheritance of Indian women. The last seven centuries of darkness have, however, so

[1] ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT, I.C.S. (1848-1909); Divisional Commissioner (1894-95); Commissioner and Political Agent, Orissa; after retirement (1897), served as lecturer in Indian History at the University College, London, for seven years; President, Indian National Congress (1899); Revenue Minister, Baroda State (1904-07); member, Decentralization Commission (1907-08); Dewan, Baroda State (1909).

effectually done their work that anyone who reminds the Indian people of this past state of things and asks them to make an attempt to return to it, runs the risk of being set down as an innovator. And in this, as in several other matters, it is England that is awakening us to a true sense of our duty. Of course, even before the advent of the British into India, instruction of a most rudimentary character in reading and writing was sometimes imparted here and there to girls of the upper classes, but this instruction was not based on any system, and it possessed no organized character. Its nature is thus described by the Education Commission:

> Apart from the Sanskrit traditions of women of learning and literary merit in pre-historic and mediaeval times, there can be no doubt that when the British obtained possession of the country, a section of the female population was educated up to the modest requirements of household life. In certain provinces little girls occasionally attended the indigenous village schools and learned the same lessons as their brothers. Many women of the upper class had their minds stored with the legends of the Puranas and Epic poems, which supply impressive lessons in morality and in India form the substitute for history. Among the lower orders the keeping of the daily accounts fell in some households to the mother or chief female of the family. The arithmetic of the homestead was often conducted by primitive methods, addition and subtraction being performed by means of flowers or any rude counters which came to hand. Among the more actively religious sects and races girls received education as a necessary part of their spiritual training. In the Punjab they may still be seen seated in groups around some venerable Sikh priest, learning to read and recite the national scriptures or granth, and the Brahmin tutor of wealthy Hindu families does not confine his instruction to the sons alone. In some parts of the country such education as girls obtained was confined ostensibly to reading and arithmetic, writing being an art, not held suitable for women of respectable life.... As a matter of fact, there always have been women of great accomplishments and strong talents for business in India. At this moment one of the best administered Native States has been ruled during two generations by ladies — the successive Begums of Bhopal. Many of the most ably managed of the great landed properties or Zemindaries of Bengal are entirely in the hands of females; while in commercial life, women conduct, through their agents, lucrative and complicated concerns. But the idea of giving girls a school education, as a necessary part of their training for life, did not originate in India until quite within our own days. The intellectual activity of Indian women is very keen and it seems frequently to last longer in life than the mental energies of the men. The intelligence of Indian women is certainly far in advance of their opportunities of obtaining school instruction and promises well for their education in the future.

It will thus be seen that, for systematic and organized efforts for the promotion of female education as also for a correct appreciation of its importance as a factor of individual improvement and national progress, we are indebted almost exclusively to the influence introduced into the country by British rule, and these influences, moreover, have been brought to bear on us on a large scale only since the accession of the present sovereign to the throne. A brief account of the work achieved so far in this field in the different provinces of India will not be out of place in this paper.

Beginnings of Female Education

Beginning with my own Presidency, Bombay, we find that the credit of making the first organized effort to educate Indian girls belongs to the American Missionary Society, who opened in 1824, the first native girls' school in Bombay. By the year 1829 no fewer than 400 female pupils were receiving instruction in the schools. The Scottish Missionary Society was not long in following the example of the American Society, and Dr. Wilson, one of the most respected names in India, established on its behalf six schools for native girls in Bombay in 1829. In 1840, this Society opened five schools for high-class Hindu girls in the neighbourhood of Poona. It was not till 1851 that the Indians themselves came forward to work in this field. In that year the Students' Literary and Scientific Society was formed which counted among its founders and earliest workers such men as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji,[1] the late Mr. Mandik,[2] and others, and which has, on the whole, done most excellent work. This Society began its operations with nine vernacular free schools, attended by more than 650 girls. In 1854, the Court of Directors addressed to the Government of India the famous Despatch on Education,[3] which laid down the lines on which the work of educating the Indian people was to be undertaken by the Government. It is a wonderful document and no wonder that it is so, seeing that it is reputed to have emanated from the pen of John Stuart Mill. This Despatch laid great stress on the urgency and importance of female education in India, and led to Government joining in the good work, which till then had been left entirely to private enterprise.

Later on, the visit of Miss Mary Carpenter,[4] whose name will always be gratefully cherished by the Indian people, gave a great and much needed impetus to the movement, and Female Normal Schools for the supply of female teachers were established in Bombay, Poona and Ahmedabad. The

[1] See foot-note 3 on p. 173.

[2] See foot-note 4 on p. 173.

[3] See foot-note 1 on p. 75.

[4] Miss Mary Carpenter (1807–1877); philanthropist; opened a girls' school at Bristol 18 9); agitated for institutions to rescue juvenile criminals; visited India to improve acilities for female education and prison management (1866. 1868, 1869, 1875.)

progress in female education in the Bombay Presidency during the last half century has indeed been continuous and remarkable. In 1854, there were 65 girls' schools, attended by 3,500 pupils. In 1869. the number of schools had risen to 209, and that of pupils to over 9,000. In 1881 the number of schools stood at 343, with over 26,000 pupils. Last year there were 900 schools for girls with an attendance of over 84,000 pupils.

In the Madras Presidency, the first attempt at providing schools for native girls was made in 1841 by the Missionaries of the Scottish Church. In 1845, the first girls' school under partial native management was opened. When the Despatch of 1854 arrived in India, there were in the Madras Presidency 256 girls' schools, attended by 8,000 girls. In 1881, the number of schools had risen to 557, and that of pupils to over 35,000. Last year there were in the Madras Presidency over 1,000 schools, attended by nearly 1,10,000 girls.

The Despatch of 1854 found 288 girls' schools with nearly 7,000 pupils, in Bengal. But included in this number was an institution which has since become famous in the history of female education in India — the Bethune Girls' School in Calcutta. The following account of this institution is given in the report of the Education Commission:

> This institution was established[1] in 1849, and bears the name of its founder Mr. Drinkwater Bethune, then Legal Member of Council, who took an active part in many movements for the advancement of native society. It was opened under the name of the Hindu Female School, with 23 pupils and was for some time maintained at the entire cost and under the direct management of Mr. Bethune, who also by his will left lands and other property in Calcutta for its endowment in perpetuity. On his death, in 1851, it was taken up by Lord Dalhousie,[2] who for nearly five years paid 8,000 rupees annually for its maintenance from his private purse. The charge was afterwards transferred to the State, although the direct management of the school continued and still continues in the hands of a Committee. Unlike the earlier Missionary efforts, the Bethune School rests on a secular basis; and the Committee aims at conducting it in accordance with national Indian feeling. It derives its pupils chiefly from the higher classes, exacts an adequate payment for boarding and other charges, and carries its instruction upto University Standard.

The number of girls' schools in 1881 stood at over 1,000, with an attendance of over 41,000 pupils. Last year these figures were 3,352 schools and 114,000 pupils.

Progress in North-West Provinces

The early efforts of the Missionary societies towards the spread of female education were not very successful in the North-West Provinces, and the Des-

[1] John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune (1801–1851); Counsel to Home Office; Law Member, Viceroy's executive council (1848); effected several important legislative reforms; established a school for Indian girls at Calcutta.

[2] Governor-General of India (1848--1856).

patch of 1854 found only 17 Missionary schools for girls, with an attendance of 386 pupils. After the receipt of the Despatch, Government took up the work with great zeal, and by 1871 the number of girls' schools in these Provinces had reached 640, and the number of pupils nearly 14,000. Then the progress was suddenly arrested and for ten years there was actually a retrograde movement, which is thus described by the Education Commission :

> Between 1871 and 1881 a great decrease took place in girls' schools. Their abolition was mainly due to the financial position of the Government. It was felt that, if retrenchments were necessary, they could be carried out in the girls' schools with the least prejudice to education. By 1881 the number of schools had dropped from 640 to 308, and the number of pupils from 14,000 to less than 9,000. The ground thus lost has not been recovered yet. Last year the number of girls' schools in these provinces stood at 425, and the number of pupils at about 12,500.

"In the Punjab, the indigenous schools for religious instruction have always been careful in imparting the rudiments of reading and writing to females, and even at the present day we have over 900 of such schools attended by nearly 13,000 girls." In addition to such schools the Despatch of 1854 found 17 Missionary schools attended by 300 girls. Then the numbers began to decrease as in the North-West Provinces, and by 1881 they had dropped to 311 schools and 9,000 pupils. Last year these figures stood at 362 and a little over 13,000, respectively.

Limited Progress in Higher Education

Thus in these five provinces we had, in 1854 about 600 schools for girls, attended by about 19,000 pupils. Instead, we have now over 6,000 schools, attended by nearly 250,000 girls. The progress indicated by these figures is beyond all doubt most striking and so far very satisfactory. In one respect, however, there is room for dissatisfaction and even disappointment. Nearly all the progress, remarkable as it is, is confined to primary education. Taking the Bombay Presidency, for instance, we find that among the 900 odd schools for girls, there are only 60 for secondary education and even these are for the most part European, Eurasian or Parsee schools. The number of secondary schools for Hindu girls is only 4, with an attendance of less than 200 pupils — the most notable of these being the female high school in Poona, which owes so much to the inspiration, sympthy, and support of our good friend Sir William Wedderburn.[1] As for higher education, there is not a single

[1] Sir William Wedderburn, Bart, I. C. S., (1838–1913); Judicial Commissioner in Sind; Judge, Bombay High Court (1885); member, Bombay executive council for a short time; member, British House of Commons (1893–1900); one of the founders of the High School for Indian Girls, Poona and of the Alexandra School for Girls, Bombay; Chairman, Governing Body, Deccan Education Society, Poona (1884–1887); helped in starting and maintaining, at considerable sacrifice of time and money, the Congress organ *India* published from London; President, Indian National Congress (1889 and 1910).

female college — arts or professional — in the whole Presidency. The main difficulty in the way of the higher or secondary education of Hindu girls is, of course, the fact that these girls must be married, or rather betrothed, before a certain age — the present limit being about 11 or 12 years — and that they are, as a rule, withdrawn from school immediately after such marriage or betrothal. The question is thus intimately connected with another necessary reform, namely, raising the marriageable age of Hindu girls. And the position may be correctly described in the following words of the late Mr. Justice Telang : [1]

> In discussing this matter, we seem sometimes to move in a vicious circle. We cannot successfully raise the age of marriage for girls among any large portions of our community without a wide spread of female education. And, on the other hand, any considerable spread of real female education is hardly possible until the age of marriage is raised. There is a real difficulty here, but the way to meet it is at one and the same time to push on female education to the extent that is possible, under present conditions, and to extend the limits of marriageable age in the same way. And as every advance is secured along either of these lines, the further advance will become more and more easy. Our progress in the later stages will be accelerated, if I may say so, in geometrical progression.

Even the progress in primary education, which appears so striking, marks, after all, only the commencement of the great work that in reality lies before us. The following figures will make my meaning clear. In the Madras Presidency, according to the last census, out of a total female population of 20,000,000, only 250,000 females can read and write, or are under instruction, which gives a ratio of 1 in 80. In the Bombay Presidency, the figures are 100,000, out of a total female population of about 13,000,000, thus giving a ratio of 1 in 130. In Bengal out of 37,000,000 females, only 150,000 can read and write or are under instruction, which means a ratio of 1 in 259. In the Punjab the figures are 35,000, out of a total of 11·5 millions — a ratio of 1 in 330. In the North-West Provinces we have 50,000 females who can read and write, or are under instruction out of a total of 23,000,000 which gives a ratio of 1 in 410. The Central Provinces have a female population of 6·5 millions, and of these only 12,000 — i. e., 1 in 548 — are attending schools or can read and write. Comments on these figures are really superfluous.

Present Difficulties

The difficulties, apart even from social customs, are many and serious. The supply of good female teachers is certainly far short of the needs of the country. The female training colleges are doing useful work in this connection, but there is a general feeling that they do not attract a sufficiently large number from those classes of women whose employment as teachers would inspire general

[1] See foot-note on p. 22.

confidence. Then the question of determining the proper curriculum for girls' schools is surrounded with difficulties. As the appreciation of female education becomes more widespread, men will come to recognize that there ought to be no more impediments in the path of the girls than in that of boys in selecting the subjects they are to study or choosing the books they are to read. In our present circumstances, however, when it is necessary for us to work along the line of least resistance, it is necessary to take note of the different surroundings of boys and girls in Indian Society in determining the course of instruction, and to make some concession even to popular prejudices on the subject. I fear this has not been done in the past to the extent that is desirable. The worst defect in the present system of female education in India is the utterly dry, mechanical and uninteresting character of the methods of instruction. Women naturally possess more refined sensibilities than men, and have a finer, more delicate aesthetic perception; and a course of instruction which merely overloads the memory and fails to appeal to the imagination is not calculated to leave on the minds of small girls very agreeable impressions of their brief school career.

Emancipating Work

But, as I have observed above, the good work of female education is only just begun in India, and what has been already accomplished is as nothing compared with what yet remains to be achieved. And I have firm faith that in course of time all the deficiencies which at present constitute so many obstacles in our path will one by one disappear. Here, if anywhere, we feel that the flowing tide is with us. The opposition of my countrymen to the education of their girls, at one time so general and so pronounced, has already softened into indifference, into toleration. And from this to active appreciation is but a single step, though I must admit it is not a short step. Happily there is no trace of hesitation or misgiving in the minds of our rulers on the subject and philanthropic ladies and gentlemen in this country, to whose sympathy and assistance we are already so much indebted, may well be trusted to continue their good work in the future. What has been said of charity is also true of education. It blesseth those that give as also those that receive. And if any words of mine, addressed to you today lead any to join in the emancipating work of female education in India, I shall feel that my humble labours have been amply rewarded.

ADVICE TO STUDENTS

On Thursday, the 28th July 1904, *the students of the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, presented an address to Gokhale. Sir Charles Arnold White, Chief Justice and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras, presided on the occasion. Gokhale made the following speech in reply to the address :*

I feel very grateful to the students of this College for the high honour which they have done to me today. That honour has been very greatly enhanced by the fact that you, Sir, have graciously taken the chair on this occasion and that you have been pleased to introduce me to this audience in words of extreme kindness. The terms in which the address, which has just now been read, is couched are altogether generous. I suppose those who drafted this address thought it necessary to ransack their vocabulary for superlatives, if for nothing else, at least to persuade themselves that they were not wholly unjustified in paying the compliment they wanted to pay.

Gentlemen, it is now nearly 20 years since I first enrolled myself as a member of a body of men at Poona who had come forward to undertake the responsibility of spreading higher education among our countrymen. They had come forward to take up this work, because they felt convinced that the future of this country was bound up with the spread of higher education in the land, and that the resources of no Government, however liberally disposed, could cope single-handed with the problem of public education. Well, I threw in my lot with these men, 20 years ago, and although my active participation in that work has now come to an end, my interest in the welfare of students, in all that concerns their present and future, is as warm as ever. During these 20 years of my life, the greater part of my time has been spent in the society of students. With them some of my happiest hours have been spent. To them my best work, such as it was, was given, and on them my dearest hopes for the future of this land are based. It is, therefore, natural that I should rejoice whenever there is an opportunity for me to meet students, and I am sincerely pleased that the students of this College should have given me this opportunity to meet them. Gentlemen, I do not propose to make a long speech. It would be bad enough to take up the time of the students unnecessarily. But it would be unpardonable presumption if I were to detain you more than a few minutes when we have in the chair one in whom two exalted offices are combined, namely, that of the Chief Justice and that of the Vice-Chancellor. I will, therefore, address only a few words to the students who are assembled here, and I hope that they will receive these words in the spirit in which I propose to address them.

Responsibility of Students

Gentlemen, I hope that the students of this College realize adequately the

character of the work in which they are engaged within the walls of this College. It is true that our Colleges and Universities, even the oldest of them, are comparatively of recent growth, and so that venerable tradition which surrounds the ancient seats of learning in the West and which exercises so powerful a hold on the minds and imagination of the students there — that venerable tradition has yet to grow round our institutions. But in one sense the very newness of this College learning you seek, marks you off from the rest of the people of this land, marks you off, I hope not in sympathies and interests — that would be a misfortune — but marks you off as men to whom a special trust is given, marks you off as persons who have entered a new brotherhood with special aims and aspirations in life. I want you to see that in proportion as you realize this, in that proportion the purpose which those great persons who introduced Western education in this country had in view, would be accomplished.

In one respect I think it is best to make an admission at once. One of the first objects of the Universities all over the world is to produce a class of men who would devote themselves to research and scholarship on the highest plane. I fear this is not possible in this country, at any rate not possible on a large scale for some time to come. In the first place the atmosphere that is necessary for such research and scholarship does not exist here and that atmosphere must come into existence only slowly. Then our men do not enjoy those opportunities of learned leisure which are necessary for such work to be done. Further, those material equipments that are essential in the shape of libraries and laboratories are here of the poorest. You cannot, therefore, expect much work on this highest plane in this country for some time to come, and that should be admitted at once.

Western Education — An Ennobling Influence

There is, however, other work perhaps not so dignified in appearance, but not less useful for the immediate welfare of the country, that can be done by our educated men. You can recognize this education as a new factor in your life, as an ennobling influence under which you have now placed yourselves. And that means that your studies should not end when your College career is over. For if this influence is recognized by you as an ennobling influence, you can never have too much of it. It is a reproach that is sometimes justly urged against you that your studies end with your College career, and this reproach you must try to wipe away. And if you do that, you will attain a higher measure of culture, a higher degree of refinement and you will have qualified yourselves better even for the ordinary duties of life than if you give up your studies the moment you leave your College. This is one of the directions in which all can take advantage of facilities that are placed at their disposal though you may not be able to do much work on the highest plane.

Call of Duty

In other directions too you may make yourselves useful. There is the call

of duty on all sides, whichever way we turn. There is a great deal of work to be done in this ancient land. I do not stand here to preach one set of views in preference to another, but I simply point out the responsibilities that lie on you. You will soon be surrounded by duties of a pressing character. There is work to be done for the mass of your countrymen who are plunged in ignorance and superstition. This mass has been kept at a lower level of existence from which level it has got to be raised. Then there is work to be done for the elevation of the status of the womankind of the land. A whole sex shut out from the intellectual life of a people — this is not good for any country. In religion many of the old institutions are existing only in form and the spirit seems to have fled from them. You have got to recognize that there is work to be done in that direction as well. Further, the whole country is on a low level in regard to political existence and that means arduous work for those who interest themselves in that question. Lastly, the industrial development of the country needs to be urgently attended to. In all these directions there is work to be done. It is true that it is not every one who can undertake such work, but a fair proportion might be reasonably expected to take some interest in this work in one or another of the various fields that I have mentioned. This is the call of the duty which you will have to recognize when you leave College and take your place in life.

Even if you are unable to do anything distinctive in this connection, there is one other direction in which you can all show yourselves worthy of the education you have received. Each one of you can do your duty all the better for the education you have received, can show that you recognize the responsibilities that devolve upon you better on account of the education that you have received. Many of us are apt to imagine that those who loom largely in the eyes of the public are the only ones that lead really useful lives. We sometimes talk and write as though only one or two individuals were really doing useful work and the rest only vegetating. It is, however, a mistake to think so. A nation's true greatness depends upon its average man and woman.

Seven years ago I was privileged to go to England. There were, of course, great statesmen, great generals and men of great learning, men of great wealth but what struck me most was that the greatness of England was due to the fact that the average men and women there led more earnest lives, recognized their responsibilities better than we do, endeavoured to prove more serviceable to society than is the case here. It is in the life, thoughts and actions of the average man and woman that the solid strength of a nation really lies. You may not be privileged to make any large contribution to the world's knowledge by research and scholarship, but every one of you can lead better, more earnest lives on account of the education you have received. If you do that in your own persons, you will have set a high example to those who come after you, and you will also have largely added to the moral energy of the nation. I therefore ask you to realize this, that it is in the

power of every educated man to show that he is worthy of the education he has received, first by continuing his interest in his studies, secondly, by trying to be of service to his countrymen in any of the five fields I have just referred to, and thirdly, by leading in his own particular sphere a better, a more earnest, a more dutiful life.

Gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you longer. We are all living in a new dawn of which no one can foresee the perfect day. But it is something to have been vouchsafed a glimpse of the vision and I am sure we shall be privileged to see more and more of it, as we profit more and more by the discipline through which, under the dispensation of a wise and loving Providence, we are passing. The meaning of this discipline we shall altogether miss, if we do not take the fullest advantage of the beneficent agencies which have been introduced into the country by the present rulers. Among these agencies, none stands higher than Western education and among the institutions that are engaged in imparting this education, your College occupies a prominent place. I wish renewed success and prosperity to this institution. Great as has been its past, I trust that a career of still greater distinction and greater usefulness is in store for it. Gentlemen, I tender once again my sincere thanks to you all — to the students for their kind address, to the authorities of the College for the permission they so readily granted to the students to invite me here, and to you, Sir, for graciously taking the chair on this occasion.

STUDENTS AND POLITICS

The following speech was delivered by Gokhale at the Students' Brotherhood, Bombay, on the 9th October, 1909 :

I am deeply sensible of the high honour which the Committee of the Students' Brotherhood has done me in asking me to take the chair on this occasion. I have been following with close interest and sincere appreciation the admirable work which the Brotherhood has been doing since it was founded twenty years ago by our friend Professor Welinkar. There is always great scope for institutions like this Brotherhood and never was the need for them greater than today when our student community is admittedly passing through very difficult times.

One of the most anxious, as it is one of the most important, problems confronting us today is how to supply the guidance, at once wise and patriotic, to our young men, so that their lives may be directed into channels of high purpose and earnest endeavour in the service of the Motherland. To sustain, on the one hand, those pure impulses and generous enthusiasms which are the special privilege of youth, and on the other, to instill into young minds a due sense of proportion and of responsibility and a correct realization of the true needs of the country—this can never be an easy task, and in the present situation of India, it is beset with extraordinary difficulties. Influences are at work around us which bid everyone, "not sit nor stand, but go". The very air we breathe is laden with a longing for change. Old beliefs are crumbling. New adjustments of ideas have become necessary, and amidst this general commotion which has been very properly called "unrest," it was not to be expected that our students alone should continue to stand where they did.

It is not the fact of their movement so much as the direction in which a large proportion of them have been moving that calls for our most earnest attention and our closest inquiry. It is a well-worn truism that the students of today will be the citizens of tomorrow. Ideas and aspirations, which give a decisive bent to their minds, are therefore matters of the deepest moment to the country, and it behoves us all seriously to examine how far they are calculated to prepare them for the responsibilities which must in due course descened to them.

Indian Politics a Matter of Patriotic Interest

One complaint which is often heard may be dismissed at once. It is said in disparagement of the Indian student that he begins to feel an interest in politics long before his time, and that it is necessary to put an end to this state of things. Now, the fact itself of such precocious interest may be admitted at once, but those who speak of it as an evil that must or can be put down fail

obviously to realize that it is an inevitable result of the exceptional political situation of the country, and that it is bound to last as long as that situation continues in all essentials unaltered. Among self-governing people, politics brings into play not only the sentiment of patriotism but also the sense of responsibility. And young men, who feel the sentiment, but lack the sense of responsibility, naturally leave practical affairs to their elders who possess both. To the Indian student, on the other hand, Indian politics is only a struggle, in which his countrymen are engaged on behalf of the Motherland, with a body of foreign officials representing the rule of another nation. There is no room here even for the elders for any feeling of responsibility in regard to the administration of the country and for our young men who find no restraining considerations in their path politics necessarily resolves itself into a matter of patriotic sentiment — an interest in politics is, to the Indian student, the same thing as an interest in his country. And to such interest all that is earnest, all that is self-respecting, all that is chivalrous, all that is patriotic in his nature, is continually impelling him. England herself has introduced into the country ideas which preach to us the dignity and high worth of patriotism, of freedom, of self-government and which tell us of contempt which, in the eyes of all self-governing people, covers those who accept their subjection in a slavish spirit. Our politics today is for the most part a spread of these ideas among the people, and an attempt to apply them to our present condition. And it is inevitable that the most impressionable minds in the country should be the most affected by them.

Responsibility alone will steady our judgments and control the restlessness of our patriotism. Where responsibility has been conferred on the people, as in municipal matters, students feel no interest before their time. As we cease to fill the role of mere critics of the administration and are admitted to a participation in the responsibilities of Government, our politics will advance from the sentimental to the responsible stage, and the precocious interest at present felt in it by our young men will tend to disappear.

Cultivation of Students' Political Sense

But, because it is impossible to prevent Indian students from taking an interest in politics before their time, therefore it does not follow that they should be left to pick up their political ideas where and how they can. On the contrary I strongly hold that a crying need of the present situation is the provision in colleges of facilities for the efficient training of what may be called the political sense of our young men. The present policy of treating politics, and especially current politics, as a dangerous and in some respects, even a forbidden subject, has only resulted in depriving the students of that guidance to which they are entitled at the hands of their teachers, in forming sound views on important questions. To leave them thus to their own devices amidst the perplexities of a difficult situation is to neglect a plain duty towards them at a critical period in

their lives, and the consequences of this neglect have been and are bound to be serious and far-reaching.

I was glad to see this view urged the other day in a letter to the Press by the Rev. Mr. Andrews,[1] of Delhi, than whom there is no better friend of the Indian students and of Indian aspirations in the country. "The historical and economic questions," says the Rev. Mr. Andrews, "which lie at the base of at least three-fourths of the politics of the modern Indian student should be dealt with wisely and sympathetically by those who are teaching history and economics, and sound opinion should thus be built up within the colleges themselves," Different teachers will, no doubt, take different views of the same questions, but it is not so much the views urged on the attention of the students as the proper cultivation of their political sense and the habit of careful and comprehensive thinking induced in their minds in regard to political problems that must be the chief object and will constitute the real gain. The very fact that our students cannot help taking an interest in politics before their time, goes to emphasize the great need that exists for their efficient political education. I think our students, especially College students, should enjoy every possible facility for acquiring an accurate knowledge of political matters and forming sound views in regard to them. They should be encouraged to discuss such matters freely in the College, and publicists, whose opinions are entitled to weight, should from time to time be invited to take part in the discussions. They should be at liberty to attend public lectures and addresses on political subjects, and they may even attend political meetings with advantage provided they are there only as spectators.

No Active Participation in Political Agitation

But when it comes to active participation in what is called political agitation, I think we must draw the line. Political agitation, directed towards the people, seeks to educate and organize public feeling and public opinion in political matters. Directed towards the Government, it seeks to bring the pressure of that feeling or opinion to bear upon the authorities for the purpose of securing the changes that are desired. In either case it is a most responsible action, and students with their immature judgments are not qualified to take part in it. The active participation of students in political agitation really tends to lower the dignity and the responsible character of public life and impair its true effectiveness. It also fills the students themselves with unhealthy excitement, often evoking in them a bitter partisan spirit which cannot fail to interfere with their studies and prove injurious to their intellectual and moral growth. The period of four or five years, which most young men spend at College is all too short a

[1] C. F. ANDREWS (1870-1940); educationist and social reformer ; joined the Cambridge Brotherhood in Delhi; was associated first with the St. Stephen's College, Delhi (1904-07) and later with the Vishva-Bharati, Shantiniketan (1920-21) ; was greatly interested in the problem of overseas Indians.

time for the work which properly belongs to it, namely, preparation in knowledge and character for the responsibilities of life. Surely, it is not too much to ask our students to exercise a little patience and self-restraint during this period and refrain from action in politics, till after they have completed their studies and taken their place in the public life of the country.

New School of Political Thought

I venture to think that a stage has been reached in our affairs when it is necessary for us to face resolutely our responsibilities in this matter. Every one knows that, during the last few years, a new school of political thought has arisen in the country and that it has exercised a powerful fascination over the minds of young men more or less in all parts of India. A considerable part of what it has preached could not but find ready acceptance on every hand, that love of country should be the ruling principle of our lives, that we should rejoice in making sacrifices for her sake, that we should rely wherever we could on our own exertions. These propositions were not preached for the first time in the country, but they were urged by the new party from a hundred platforms, and in a hundred organs of public opinion, with a passion which roused general enthusiasm.

Unsound Political Teaching

Side by side with this undoubtedly valuable work, the new party gave to the country a great deal of what could only be regarded as unsound political teaching. That teaching was in the first instance directed to the destruction of the very foundations of the old public life of the country. But once started, it could not be confined to that object, and in course of time, it came to be applied generally. Its chief error lay in its ignoring all historical considerations, and tracing our principal troubles to the existence of a foreign Government in the country. Our old public life was based on a frank and loyal acceptance of British rule due to a recognition of the fact that that rule alone could secure to the country the peace and order which were necessary for slowly evolving a nation out of the heterogeneous elements of which it was composed, and for ensuring to it a steady advance in different directions. The new teaching condemned all faith in the British Government as childish and all hope of any real progress under it as vain. Petitioning or a respectful representation of grievances to authorities, which in England was asserted as a right of the people after a long struggle, was denounced as mere mendicancy. Boycott was to be the new weapon, and its universal adoption was to bring us the realization of all our dreams.

"Short Cut" to Self-Government

The teaching made for a time rapid progress. It was new; it was plausible; it was attractive; and it promised a short cut to Self-Government. True, the British Government was there, but it was to be ignored and it was expected that it would, in its turn, ignore those who ignored it. The spread of this teach-

ing was greatly helped by the general gloom that had settled over the minds of the people during the closing years of Lord Curzon's[1] administration. It was also helped by the apparent failure of the National Congress to secure constitutional reforms in the administration of the country in spite of many years of agitation. Our general lack of political judgment was also responsible for the large measure of acceptance which it received. Not many of us care to think for ourselves in political matters, or for the matter of that, in any public matters. Ready-made opinions are as convenient as ready-made clothes and not so noticeable. The bulk of the recruits of the new school came from the ranks of our students, and though many of the elder adherents of that school have, by now, been more or less disillusioned about the practicality of their programme, I fear its hold over its student followers is still as strong as before. It is for this reason that I have deemed it my duty to refer to the subject here today.

Government Cannot be Ignored

I think those of our public men, who realize the harm which the new teaching has done, have not so far done their duty by the student community of the country. Their inaction has no doubt been due to motives of delicacy, but the result has been just as deplorable as though the duty had been deliberately shirked. I feel it is now incumbent on us to speak out freely, no matter how our conduct may be understood. We owe this to our country, we owe this to the young men themselves. As I have already said, the self-reliance part of the new programme cannot but be acceptable to all. It is in regard to the attitude towards the Government which the programme advocates that the need for a protest and a warning arises. As my friend Babu Bhupendra Nath Basu[2] pointed out the other day in Calcutta, you can no more ignore the Government than you can ignore the sun. Moreover, even if you want to ignore the Government, it is not so certain that the Government will want to ignore you. Meanwhile all this wild talk brings on repression as a natural consequence which, in its turn, tends to paralyze all activity in the country. Some of the leaders of the new thought have gone so far as to talk of independence as an object of practical pursuit. Now, if any one would merely sit at home and give himself up to dreaming dreams and among them, dreams of independence for his country and every manner of perfection for his people, I would have no quarrel with him. But the moment he preaches his dream of independence as a practical policy to be pursued by his countrymen, it becomes another matter, and we then owe it to the best interests of the country to resist the propaganda with all our energy and all our resources. One has only to look round to realize where a movement for independence is bound to land us. Meanwhile it means the sure destruction or, at any rate the indefinite postponement of all these opportunities for slow but peaceful progress which are at present within our reach.

[1] Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1899-1905).

[2] See foot-note 5 on p. 111.

Students and New Propaganda

The worst sufferers from this propaganda have been, and will continue to be, our impulsive and simple-hearted students. When anyone talks to young men of independence in a country like this, only two ideas are likely to present themselves clearly before their mind: one, how to get rid of the foreigner, and the other, how soon to get rid of him. All else must appear to them as comparatively of very minor importance. The risk, which earnest-minded young men must run from such ideas fermenting in their heads, should be obvious to everybody, and the worst of it is that the more earnest the men, the greater is the risk to which they are exposed.

We hear it asserted by some advocates of independence, that their plan is to use only peaceful means for the attainment of their end. They may intend to use only peaceful means but the Government, which certainly does not want to see its rule overthrown, will not long permit them to retain their peaceful character.

Continuance of British Rule

One almost feels inclined to apologise to an audience for urging on its attention considerations so obvious and so elementary. That such reminders have become necessary only shows how easily the balance of political judgment in our country is apt to be upset. Our young men must make up their minds about it that there is no alternative to British rule, not only now but for a long time to come, and that any attempts made to disturb it, directly or indirectly, are bound to recoil on our own heads. Moreover they have to recognize, if they want to be just, that this rule, in spite of its inevitable drawbacks as a foreign rule, has been on the whole a great instrument of progress for our people. Its continuance means the continuance of that peace and order which it alone can maintain in the present circumstances of the country and with which our best interests, among them, those of our growing nationality, are bound up. The rulers have promised us equality of treatment with themselves, and our hope is that this equality will be gradually attained. We, on our side, have accepted the rule and have promised it our willing allegiance. On the strength of this acceptance, certain privileges have been already conferred on us, and in course of time more are bound to follow. Self-interest and good faith, therefore, alike require us to harbour no sentiment inconsistent with a continuance of this rule and our attitude towards it must be one of loyal scquiescence.

Active Loyalty

Now, loyalty is an active feeling. It implies not merely refraining from any hostile acts against the order to which we are loyal but also a readiness to rush to its support, if its existence is in any way threatened. If we are loyal in this spirit, we may fight if the situation requires it with a clear conscience any individual measure or any series of measures of particular administrations, with all

legitimate weapons at our disposal. A magnificient instance of this has been supplied by our great countryman, Mr. Gandhi. For the last two years he has been engaged in fighting a series of harsh and insulting measures of the Transvaal Government in a manner of which we have no parallel to show. But even while so engaged, he has not given the least ground to his worst opponent, to cast any reasonable doubt on his attitude towards England. This feeling of loyalty is not one to be trotted out for official favour or demonstrated at official bidding. It must spring out of our very love for our country and it must be sustained by our clear recognition of what is necessary in our best interests. Then, indeed, our path will be clear to us and then we shall bear patiently, aye, cheerfully, the disadvantages and even the humiliations inseparable from a foreign rule strong in the consiouseness that the country needs that sacrifice of sentiment at our hands.

Complete Equality with Englishmen

I have said that our rulers stand pledged to extend to us equality of treatment with themselves. This equality is to be sought in two fields, equality for individual Indians with individual Englishmen, and equality in regard to the form of Government which Englishmen enjoy in other parts of the Empire. This attainment of full equality with Englishmen, if ever it is accomplished, is bound to be a slow and weary affair. But one thing is clear. It is both our right and our duty to press forward along this road, and further good faith requires that we should not think of taking any other. At the end of this road, far distant from where we at present are, may be seen a house in which Frenchmen and Dutchmen are gathered with Englishmen. Whether we shall ever acquire the strength which will carry us to that house, whether we shall be admitted into it, even if we reach there, or, whether our journey will terminate in some other way the future alone will disclose. We may occasionally cast a glance at the house to cheer us up in our toil or to form to ourselves an idea of the strength needed to carry us there but to worry at present about our probable lot in the remote future is both unnecessary and unwise.

Self-Government Rests on Average Strength

Of the twofold equality we have to seek with Englishmen the first, though itself difficult of attainment, is not so difficult as the second. For it is possible to find in this country a fair number of Indians, who in character and capacity could hold their own against individual Englishmen. But the attainment of a democratic form of Self-Government, such as obtains in other parts of the Empire, must depend upon the average strength in the character and capacity of our people taken as a whole, for it is on our average strength that the weight of the edifice of Self-Government will have to rest. And here it must be regretfully admitted that our average today is far below the English average. The most important work before us, therefore, now is to endeavour to raise

this average so that it may approach the English average as the French and the Dutch averages do.

Need for Devoted Workers

There is work enough for the most enthusiastic lover of his country. In fact, on every side, whichever way we turn, only one sight meets the eye, that of work to be done and only one cry is heard that there are but few faithful workers. The elevation of the depressed classes who have to be brought up to the level of the rest of our people, universal elementary education, co-operation, improvement of the economic conditions of the peasantry, higher education of women, spread of industrial and technical education and building up the industrial strength of the country, promotion of closer relations between the different communities, these are some of the tasks which lie in front of us, and each needs a whole army of devoted missionaries. Shall the need go unsupplied? Out of the thousands of young men that leave our Universities year after year, shall not even a few hear within them the voices that speak to the spirit and respond gladly to this call? The work is the work of our country. It is also the work of humanity. If, after all the awakening of which we speak and over which we justly rejoice, these fields do not yield their harvest for want of workers, India must wait for another generation before she receives faithful service from her children.

Gokhale's Reply

Replying to the vote of thanks proposed by Mr. Justice Chandavarkar,[1] *Gokhale, said :*

I am sincerely grateful to you for the manner in which you have passed this vote, and also to my friend Mr. Chandavarkar for the exceedingly kind manner and the exceedingly kind words in which he has placed that vote before you. It is not necessary for me just now to make another speech, but I would say one or two things after what has fallen from Mr. Chandavarkar. I selected this subject with considerable hesitation, because our tradition in the past has been that as far as possible we should not speak to students about politics. But I have come to the clear conclusion that that tradition must now be departed from, because what happens is this : those who are able to take, what I would call responsible views of the situation, keep quiet in obedience to that tradition, whereas the other views which, perhaps are not so thoughtfully worked out, are available to the students in all directions, and the result is what we see around us today. I therefore think that the time has come when all who feel that they have something to say to the students, and who may be expected to give some thought to what they are going to say, should freely speak to students about politics. Now as regards the criticism to which I have been subjected of late, and to which our distinguished friend Mr.

[1] See foot-note on p. 61.

Chandavarkar made reference, well, that is the accepted lot of those who come forward and take part in public affairs. When a man comes forward to take part in public life, it is necessary for him to be very thick-skinned. I know I have had the reputation of being a sensitive man. I may say, however, that I have been twenty-five years in public life, and I have got plenty of abuse in public life, and therefore in twenty-five years one gets fairly accustomed to this abuse.

Only one other thing I wish to refer to, and that is about the *National Review*. Mr. Chandavarkar is under the impression that the writer in the *Review* had represented me correctly, and he has tried to furnish an explanation. In doing so he has paid me a high compliment, which, I am sorry to say, in this case I do not deserve, because the writer in the *Review* has not represented my views correctly. The views which I expressed two years ago are also the views which I hold today. The only difference is this; sometimes you address one set of people, sometimes you address another set of people and your views have often to supply a sort of corrective to the prevailing sentiment of that audience. In speaking to our own countrymen, I generally make a point of dwelling on our own defects. In speaking to the officials in the Council, I generally try to pass criticisms where there is room for them. Now I have been criticized in certain quarters, because before the Viceroy I said certain things against repression, and elsewhere I said that repression was natural if our people indulged in violence. Now these apparent inconsistencies can be seen in proper perspective only by those who analyze and sift matters correctly.

HISTORY TEACHING IN BOMBAY

Government Letter — A Tactical Mistake

The problem of the revision of the Arts Course was considered by the Senate of the Bombay University at its meetings held on Monday, July 17, 1911 and Friday, July 28, 1911, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar,[1] the vice-chancellor presiding. The adoption of the report of the Committee appointed to revise the courses of study in the Faculty of Arts was moved by the Rev. Dr. Scott,[2] when Mr. K. Natarajan[3] moved the following amendment to the motion, viz.:

(*a*) That in respect of paragraph 6 of the Report,[4] the Senate, on a reconsideration of the matter, is of opinion that the subjects for the B. A. Examination should be (1) English, and (2) a Voluntary group;

(*b*) that History of England, Political and Constitutional, should form part of the Voluntary group "History and Economics"; and

(*c*) requests the Syndicate to revise the proposed regulations accordingly.

In opposing the amendment, Gokhale said :

Though Mr. Natarajan could claim that he had always opposed history being compulsory and that he had not been influenced by the Government letter it was really the Government letter with which they had to deal that afternoon and so he would at once come to close grips with the subject. At the outset he would like to say that he was most anxious to speak with all respect of this letter of Government. This was due not only to His Excellency as the head of the administration, but also to the remarkable personality of Sir George Clarke.[5] He

[1] See foot-note on p. 61,

[2] Professor of English, Wilson College, Bombay.

[3] Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*, Bombay.

[4] Para 6 was as follows : In the B. A. Examination, necessary English is continued, English History in two aspects replaces the former two Histories, and the same or nearly the the same, Voluntaries are maintained. Two subjects, Second Language and Political Economy, disappear from the compulsory list. The large amount of time thus set free must be devoted mainly to the revised Voluntary groups; though, as we think, some portion of it should be given to a more scholarly study of the English texts and a more philosophic attention to Constitutional progress. But now an important change has to be introduced. We are instructed to make provision for Honours courses. A distinction is therefore drawn between a Pass degree and an Honours degree. The present course has in view the capacity of the average student. In the future the Pass Examination will in a more effective manner cover a less extensive field, while the Honours examination will, in comparison with the present, be no less extensive and of a higher and more difficult kind.

[5] Sir George Sydenham Clarke, Baron Sydenham of Combe (1848-1933); Royal Engineer; took part in the Egyptian expedition (1882) and the Eastern Sudan campaign (1885); superintendent, Royal Carriage Department at Woolwich Arsenal (1894-1901); member, War Office Reconstitution Committee (1903); Governor of Victoria province (1901-03); Governor of Bombay (1907-13).

thought he was expressing the sense of the Senate when he said that the people of this Presidency were proud of the fact that they had a man of such great abilities and distinction at the head of affairs. So far as he was concerned, he might frankly say that he was one of the warmest admirers of Sir George Clarke, and he therefore regretted that he felt it his duty to speak of the Government letter in the way in which he would do.

His Excellency asked them at the end of the letter not to misunderstand the the motive that had prompted it. He believed it would spare unpleasantness if there was no reference to motive, but this must be done by all parties equally and it must not be suggested that those who wanted to banish compulsory history were guided by educational motives, while those who wanted it retained were influenced by political motives. But while they would not be justified in questioning the motives of the letter they were entitled to question the wisdom of the views it contained and the procedure Government had adopted.

In December 1908, the Governor addressed to them his first letter on the subject and he knew that His Excellency in sending that letter was actuated by the most intense desire to improve things, to reform things as he found them in the University, according to his lights; but he thought that the Governor, in that letter, did not take enough note of the fact that many of the best minds of the presidency, European as well as Indian, had devoted their best for years to the formation of the curriculum as it then stood. That, he thought, was a tactical mistake, for it created in many minds a critical, he would not say an antagonistic, frame of mind. A committee was appointed to consider the letter and reported in five months.

The minority submitted the principal report and as they knew, the result of the discussion thereon was a fiasco. The question was then raised by Mr. Sharp,[1] in a series of letters or notes addressed to the body dealing with the whole problem again in sections and he thought Mr. Sharp would bear him out when he said that a measure of assistance and co-operation was given him of which he certainly had no right to complain. The Committee then appointed gave the best that was in them to working out the details and this report was now before the Senate.

The Recent Compromise

A compromise was arrived at of which Mr. Natarajan knew nothing officially and he mentioned this because a leading paper, of which Mr. Natarajan knew something, had said that the compromise was arrived at at his (Gokhale's) instance. As a matter of fact, it was Mr. Sharp who had approached them and for the sake of harmonious working they withdrew the remaining amendments. Having done that they all congratulated one another and even *The Times of India* thought that on the whole the compromise was a good way out of the

[1] The then Director of Public Instruction, Bombay Presidency.

difficulty. And then came this bolt from the blue, the Government letter which upset everything and re-opened the whole subject. In October last a letter was sent to the Governor reporting progress and if His Excellency had wanted to take exception to the inclusion of history in the compulsory group surely the time to do it was then. As a matter of fact, for eight months the Government did nothing and they were left with the impression that everything was moving satisfactorily and that the discussion of the Committee's report would be the final stage of the discussion.

Government Interference

In the letter Government said that it could not divest itself of repsonsibility' that it paid a large proportion of the cost of higher education and was a large employer of educated Indians and must retain a large or preponderating voice in the deliberations of the Senate. It was because Government paid a large proportion of the cost of higher education that it appointed four-fifths of the Fellows of the University, presumably for their educational qualifications, and surely it might be expected that Government would leave those members free to deal with educational questions as they deemed proper. The Government letter opened up an important constitutional question. The Senate was the body entrusted by Government with the working out of the details of the courses of higher education and in doing that, although it had to submit its conclusions to Government for approval, it must claim perfect freedom; otherwise its work would not be worth doing. Government had the power of rejecting or approving the Senate's recommendations, but he questioned their moral right to send to the Senate a letter of instructions. If Government had merely sent a letter for consideration giving their views they would have considered them with all respect, but Government had done more than this and their letter showed what he thought a most improper interference with the Senate and if they cared for the freedom of the deliberations of the Senate they must protest against this with all the force at their command. Gokhale then protested against the issuing of a whip by Mr. Sharp practically telling members how Government expected them to vote.

Advantages of History

Coming to the objections which the letter raised to English History being compulsory, Gokhale said these were five. First, history had been given a greater preponderance in the new curriculum than in the old; secondly, it was not compulsory even in England; thirdly, it did not tend to produce originality of thought or to develop the intellect; fourthly, it was not of much value to the majority of the students, and fifthly, it lent itself specially to cramming as there were no professors properly qualified to teach it thoroughly. As to the first objection, Gokhale thought that this was not the case in the final result; as to the second, he said there was no need for English history to be compulsory in England any more than for Indian history to be compulsory in India. By a

dispensation of Providence England and India had been brought together and he thought that if there was to be a satisfactory understanding between the two races it was essential for their young men to gain that admiration for the English character that could only come from a study of English history and literature as it was for English Civilians in India to study Indian history.

He had seen it stated in an English paper that it was the study of English history that caused their young men to become implicated in cases like the Nasik conspiracy case. But if a few of their young men did thus go astray it was in spite of and not on account of the study of English history; for there had been more of such cases in Bengal where history was not compulsory. He thought that in their fourth objection Government underrated the value of English history study to their youths for it was by this and the study of English literature more than anything that they could be made useful and responsible citizens. As to the last objection, speaking with ten years' experience as a professor of history he thought that English history was less "crammed" than any other subject because it was so intensely interesting.

Continuing, Gokhale said that if Government had come to them with this letter and said that their recommendation was based on the question of State policy they would have recognized Government's right to tell them what to do, but as the suggestions were said to be made on educational grounds only, they were entitled to examine the educational qualifications of those from whom it had emanated. The distinguished attainments of His Excellency the Governor they all admitted, but he (Gokhale) was not aware that the remaining three members of the Governor's Executive Council had any special educational qualifications. It came to this then that it was His Excellency's personal view and as His Excellency had no personal experience of teaching in the Presidency the objections on the grounds of "cramming" and some others must be based on hearsay, and in those circumstances he felt that His Excellency was not entitled to put his personal judgment against a body four-fifths of whom had been appointed by Government.

Question, not Educational but Constitutional

Concluding, Gokhale said in his view of things the question had now ceased to be merely an educational one. It had become a constitutional question affecting the independence of such an important body as the Senate of the Bombay University. The question was whether they were there to register the decrees issued from the Secretariat or were they entitled to consider educational problems and make their own recommendations without any interference. On the previous occasion they had come to a vote which was the unanimous vote of the Senate, and if they now reversed their decision it meant that when the vote was taken last they did their work perfunctorily. Was that consistent with their conception of the dignity and the independence of the Senate? He looked upon this as a question of honour, because he complained that there had been

something like a betrayal in the matter. He did not charge Mr. Sharp with any conscious betrayal: but on that occasion Mr. Sharp got them to withdraw their amendments on the understanding that English history was to be retained.

[Voting on Mr. Natarajan's amendment took place at the meeting held on July 28, 1911. The amendment was carried by 42 votes in favour and 37 against it.]

MADRAS'S SUPPORT TO BILL

At a very largely attended public meeting held in the Victoria Public Hall at Madras on Saturday, July 22, 1911, *it was decided to form an Elementary Education League at Madras to educate public opinion with regard to Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill. Sir S. Subramaniya Iyer*[1] *presided. The resolution giving cordial approval to the Bill and "welcoming the formation of the Madras Elementary Education League" was moved by Nawab Syed Mahomed.*[2] *The passage of the resolution was followed by Gokhale's speech, which was as follows :*

I really do not know how to express my thanks to this large and representative gathering of the citizens of Madras for the extreme kindness and cordiality of the reception which they have been pleased to accord to me this afternoon. To this enthusiastic meeting in this hall, a distinction has been lent by the presence of so many of the best men of Madras here; and the last but not the least you, sir (turning towards the Chairman), venerated and beloved not only in this Presidency but throughout India have emerged from your retirement and in spite of the growing weight of infirmities, have come here today to bestow your blessing on this movement. The circumstance is an encouragement of which any public worker in this country may well be proud and which, to my mind, is an augury of the speedy triumph of the great cause which we all of us have so much at heart.

Gentlemen, this League of which we hold the inaugural meeting today has been brought into existence with the declared object of organizing public opinion in support of the Elementary Education Bill which was introduced in the Viceroy's Legislative Council in March last. As I happen for the moment to be identified in a measure with that Bill, may I take this opportunity of conveying an expression of my profound gratitude to the leaders of public opinion and the public bodies of Madras for the almost unanimous, wholehearted and enthusiastic support which they have given to that measure. Those of us who are acquainted with the condition of the different parts of India, especially the three leading Presidencies in this country, of Bombay, Bengal and Madras, sometimes feel that, while the gift of spiritual vision has been given to Bengal in a pre-eminent degree, and that of practical action to Bombay, in regard to deep and acute thinking Madras carries the palm. Therefore when the proposed measure

[1] SIR S. SUBRAMANIYA IYER, enrolled vakil (1869); President, Madura Municipality; member, Madras Legislative Council (1884); Judge, Madras High Court (1891-1907); Vice-chancellor, Madras University (1904); Vice-president, Theosophical Society; Chairman, Reception Committee, Indian National Congress (1914).

[2] See foot-note 1 on p. 91.

received this unanimous and enthusiastic stamp of approval from the people of Madras, the framers of that measure have every reason to regard the situation both with hope and satisfaction.

Gentlemen, this is the first occasion after the introduction of the Bill, on which I am speaking publicly on that subject; and that being so, I hope you will not think it amiss if I take this opportunity to make a further pronoucement on it. Last March in speaking on this Bill at the time of its introduction, I ventured to say in Council that if the Council granted me the permission that I sought at its hands, to introduce the Bill, the discussion of the measure would then be transferred from the Council Chamber to the Press and the platform of this country. That idea, at any rate, has been amply justified. In fact all those who are interested in this measure have no reason to be dissatisfied with the amount of attention which the measure has called forth in every part of India. It has been my duty to follow with the closest interest all the criticism, friendly and otherwise, that has been bestowed on this measure; and having followed that criticism in a close manner I thought that certain misapprehensions which are found to exist in certain quarters might well be removed on this occasion—at any rate I might try my best just now to remove those misapprehensions.

Principles of the Bill

If you examine the Bill, gentlemen, you may divide it into portions that concern the principles of the Bill and portions that are merely details of the Bill. The principles on which the Bill is founded stand on a different footing from the details of the Bill. What are those principles of the Bill? That is the first question to answer. Then you have to consider what are the details which have called forth most attention and most criticism. That will be the next question to answer. As I have stated just now, the Bill is founded on three principles. First of all, the bill aims at introducing the principle of compulsion into the elementary education system of this country; secondly, it seeks to do this not by going in for compulsion at once, but gradually, by empowering local areas and local bodies—such areas as are ripe for compulsion — to go in for compulsion; and the third principle is that the initiative in regard to this principle of compulsion is to be taken by local bodies, the sanction of Government being of course required before compulsion is introduced, as the Government have to find a certain proportion of the total cost. But the chief responsibility for initiating this compulsion rests under the Bill with local bodies. All these three principles are, to my mind, fundamental portions of the Bill. I do not think that it is possible to change any one of these principles or to suggest or to arrive at any compromise in regard to them. Not that I mean that if anything stronger than this bill were possible, I should hesitate to propose that stronger thing, but, taking the country as it is and considering the state of things throughout all parts of India, nothing stronger than this Bill is possible. That is my firm conviction, and if the Bill is not to be wrecked. I think that we who are friends of this measure must stand by those principles.

Compulsory Principle

As regards the details, I may leave them for the present and I say one or two words with regard to these three principles. The first thing that the Bill introduces into the elementary education system of the country is the principle of compulsion. On this point I do not really think that I need say anything more than what has fallen from Dr. Nair,[1] who in his most lucid, eloquent and exceedingly admirable speech has dealt with this principle of compulsion. All over the civilized world, it is now an axiom that unless compulsion is introduced in regard to elementary education there is not much chance of elementary education spreading throughout the country. We must profit by the experience of other countries. We are already lagging behind. We cannot make experiments of our own, experiments in the maintenance of ignorance : we must profit by what other countries have found and following their example we must go in for compulsion. Those who stand up for individuality — there is much for individuality in other matters — think that they and we must agree to differ in regard to this particular matter.

Methods of Compulsion

Though it may be agreed that compulsion is necessary, the question is, how is this compulsion to be introduced? There are three possible positions in regard to this compulsion. You may go in for universal compulsion throughout India, or you may say that you have no compulsion — that is a negative position or you may say that you will have compulsion piecemeal, area after area, as each area is ripe for compulsion. Those who are familiar with the state of things in this country will at once see that universal compulsion introduced at once will only defeat itself. All parts of the country are not equally ripe for compulsion and therefore that course which the Gaekwar[2] has now adopted — after trying the experiment for several years in one of the taluqs—is not open to the people of India. In regard to having no compulsion, I have said what I had to say and Dr. Nair has dealt with it very fully. Therefore there is the third position left, that we must go in for compulsion gradually, piecemeal, area by area, as each area becomes ripe or shows itself ripe for compulsion. That is a proposal which this Bill aims at. Even here we have a precedent to follow. In Ireland they proceeded in this manner, while in Scotland and Wales at one time and England at another time they introduced compulsion at once; but in Ireland they legislated on permissive lines and local bodies were empowered to introduce compulsion wherever they liked, the Government undertaking to find a proportion of the cost. In many other countries the state of things is similar to what prevails in Ireland and that is therefore the safest example to

[1] Dr. T. M. Nair, M. D., member, Madras Legislative Council; edited *Antiseptic* a medical monthly.

[2] See foot-note on p. 25.

follow. It is on this account that the Bill provides for permissive compulsion. As each area becomes ripe for compulsion, it may try to take advantage of the provisions of the Bill after obtaining the sanction of the Government and apply the provisions of the Bill. This is the second principle — the gradual introduction of compulsion.

Position of Government

The third principle is that action must be taken by local bodies. This is as important a point as any one of the other two and we have to face the facts and the situation in this country fairly and squarely. We have to realize that it is a foreign Government that is ruling here and therefore many things which an indigenous Government can do are not open to a foreign Government to do — at any rate a foreign Government has to enter very anxiously on a course which an indigenous Government may enter without the same amount of anxiety. Compulsion is bound in the first instance to be unpopular with those to whom compulsion is extended and there is no use denying it. It has been the rule in other countries and the rulers in other countries have not hesitated to face that unpopularity; but the British Government which in this country has difficulties of its own will be excused — at any rate one will understand its position — when it shrinks from incurring the additional unpopularity which this compulsion may bring on. Therefore, it is necessary for us to see how far we can help ourselves with the assistance of Government.

The sanction of Government is necessary because Government have to find here a large portion of the money, as everywhere else in the world, where the central Government finds a considerable proportion of the cost of primary education and we also expect the British Government to do the same. If the Government have to find a proportion of the cost, it is reasonable that its previous sanction is necessary before the provisions of this Bill are enforced, but there is this safeguard that the initiative is to be taken by our own people. I say this not only because the fear of making themselves unpopular and incurring this unpopularity will prevent the Government from giving effect to it early, but also as practical people we must see that if we are to leave the initiative in the hands of Government we shall have to wait for a very long time. Therefore we must help ourselves and I have enough faith in the patriotism and the enthusiasm of our countrymen for the welfare of the masses to expect that, after this Bill is passed a number of people will set themselves to the task of going about and stirring up public opinion and inducing local bodies to take up this measure and apply it to their respective areas. No matter how intense your patriotism may be, how keen your interest may be on the subject of elementary education, you cannot but accept the principle of compulsion, for if you have to proceed on a voluntary basis, you will find that it is bound to be a failure, as it has already proved to be a failure everywhere in the world where it has been tried. If you are anxious that the principle of compulsion should be tried in this country, it is necessary that, in the existing state of

things, we ought to try and obtain the power to take the initiative in regard to it. These are the three principles on which the Bill is based and as regards these three principles there can be no compromise, no modification, and as far as I may be able to see just now, we have got to stand by these three principles, for if you take away any one of these principles from the Bill, you impair to that extent the usefulness of the Bill.

Education Rate

Then, coming to the details of the Bill, there are several details which may be regarded as important while there are several others which are of comparative unimportance. To every one of these details does not apply what I said in regard to the principles. These are open for discussion and if the weight of public opinion is in favour of a modification in the details, important or unimportant, every effort will be made in the subsequent stages of the Bill to give effect to that opinion. They are all details and do not trench upon the principles of the Bill and therefore they are open to modification. There are four or five details, important details to which I will refer just now. There has been a great deal of controversy in regard to one of these detals, viz., the clause which empowers local bodies to levy a special education rate, if necessary, for the purpose of extending elementary education. There has been a good deal of misconception in regard to this matter. I tried my best, in introducing this Bill, to explain the matter; but I see that I was not sufficiently full, and judging from the misapprehensions which I have noticed, I thought it best to state what I have to say in regard to this clause. Remember that this clause in itself is a permissive one. It does not say that every local body shall levy a rate. It says that it may levy a rate wherever it may be necessary. Dr. Nair has given the instance of the Madras Corporation. Following what he has said just now, it appears to me that probably in Madras they may not require any extra taxation and there are certainly other Corporations which may take the same view.

In the Bombay Presidency, the Satara Municipality has written to Government that it will be possible for it to carry out this Bill without having recourse to extra taxatior. This Bill does not require any local body to levy extra taxation for carrying out this Bill. If a local body finds that it is able to take advantage of the Bill without having recourse to extra taxation, it is at liberty to do so. But there is a distinction between District Boards and Municipalities. Municipalities already have the power to impose extra taxation and so far as Municipalities are concerned, there is nothing new in the provision that has been introduced in the Bill. Municipalities have now the power of imposing extra taxation but they have not the power of earmarking a particular income. It has happened that a Municipality imposed extra taxation for one purpose, but the Executive Government came down and compelled it to apply it for another purpose. That has happened on our side

during the plague days when the plague was prevalent in Poona and all those costly measures were introduced by Government. The Municipality was brushed aside and the cost incurred was enormous and every expenditure was cut down. Schools were shut up, roads were in a miserable condition, and every rupee on which hands could be laid was taken for meeting the expenditure on plague. However that idea was soon given up and fighting the plague became comparatively a cheaper affair afterwards. From this thing it will be evident that a Municipality may impose taxation for one purpose and the Executive Government may come down and compel it to apply it for another purpose altogether. So far as the Municipality is concerned the provision introduced in this Bill is nothing new so far as the imposition of taxes is concerned and the addition that it contains is in favour of the people, because it is laid down that when extra taxation is imposed for the purpose of education the proceeds of that tax ought not to be diverted to any other purpose but should be kept earmarked for education. But so far as District Boards are concerned, I admit that the power is a new one. District Boards in Bombay have no power to impose extra taxation. To that extent, the provision is new; but remember that this provision is permissive. Secondly, in the near future very few District Boards will come under this Bill because the Government of India are to lay down by rules to what extent elementary education must be already prevalent in any area before compulsion may be introduced. In my speech I suggested that it may be applicable to parts where the percentage of the school-going children to the population of school-going age is 33 and I suggested that figure as being a fair and workable percentage. In England it was 43; in Japan it was 28; you might have perhaps 20, 25, 30 or 40 per cent. I thought it best to be on the safe side and suggested a percentage of 33. The Bill leaves it to the Government of India to lay down by rules what should be the proportion of those who are already at school, before compulsion is introduced. I did this deliberately and I may tell you that I did so on the advice of some of those who were connected with the Government of India. Circumstances of different provinces differ and if we lay down one percentage hard and fast for one province, it may not be found workable in other provinces and therefore it was thought best to make a provision which was elastic. There is nothing to prevent us from saying that the percentage should be 33, 40 or 45 or whatever the majority of people desire should be introduced in the place of the existing percentage. This is a matter of detail and need not be vehemently opposed.

There are few District Boards in the country in which 33 per cent of the children of school-going age are already at school. I do not expect therefore that in the near future many District Boards will come under this Bill. The bodies that I have in view are chiefly Municipalities. In regard to them, as I have already explained, the position is that they have the power to impose new taxation and the new thing which this Bill provides is that it empowers them to

earmark the proceeds of the extra taxation for education. That is the first detail I wanted to explain; it is a purely permissive clause and it is open to any local body to take advantage of the Bill without imposing extra taxation.

Question of Exemptions

The second point on which there has been some criticism is with regard to the clause which limits free education to the children of parents whose income is Rs. 10 and below. I share the view which Dr. Nair expressed that where education is compulsory it follows as a corollary that it should be free. Last year when I introduced my resolution in the Viceroy's Legislative Council I urged that if education was to be compulsory, it should also be free. But we should face the facts also. The question of making education free and remitting all fees was taken up by the Government of India and a circular was addressed to all the local Governments, and it appeared for a time that under the influence of Liberal statesmen in England primary education in this country would soon be made free. The Government of India had at that time large surpluses and they took up the question as a matter of finance and wanted to give relief to the taxpayers by remitting the school fees. However during the last three years, especially three years ago, when the financial position was suddenly changed, the Government of India changed its view in regard to this matter. When the local Governments were consulted in regard to making primary education free, with the exception of one local Government, all the other local Governments opposed it strongly. That is a fact which we have to take into consideration, — that the finances of the Government of India will not admit of the same strain as they could have done some three years ago and at the same time it has to be remembered that the views of the Governments which have opposed the introduction of free education are bound to be effective. Therefore, we are bound to make the best of the situation. Remember that in England 20 years elapsed before education was made free after it was made compulsory. In Japan education was made compulsory in 1872 and it is not free even yet ! I hope you will remember these facts, because they clearly establish that if we cannot get the whole thing, it ought not to prevent us from getting whatever we can. Let us try to make education compulsory. That is the more important thing to do, and then, secondly, let us make it free to the poor. That is what the Bill says. Last year I fixed the limit at Rs. 25 and said that no fee should be charged for the children of those parents whose income was Rs. 25 and below; and since then I was advised that it would be well to bring down the limit still further. After all, fees in primary schools are not very high and it is desirable that all difficulties in the way of compulsion should be removed. It was my friend Sir Gurudas Bannerjee[1] that gave me this opinion and it was in deference to this opinion that

[1] Sir GURU DAS BANERJI; Law Lecturer, Berhampur College (1866-1881); Tagore Law professor (1878); Judge, Calcutta High Court (1889); member, Bengal Legislative Council (1888); Vice-chancellor, Calcutta University (1890-1892); author of *The Hindu Law of Marriage and Stridhan.*

I put down the limit as low as possible. But this is a matter of detail and there is nothing to prevent us from raising the limit to Rs. 20 or Rs. 25 or, if funds are available, to make primary education absolutely free. Remember that the latitude of action is given to Municipalities and that the clause says that, so far as parents whose income is less than Rs. 10 are concerned, the education of their children ought to be free; but as regards others, a local body may charge fees or not at its discretion. Local bodies that have a lot of money and can indulge in the luxury of free education may give education free and if a local body thinks that Rs. 25 income is the proper limit, they might adopt it and supplement the provision in this Bill by saying that they shall not charge fees in the case of the children of parents whose income is below Rs. 25. It may also say that it will impose a special rate and will not charge any fees at all. It might consider that if people are to pay a special education rate, it is not desirable that the same burden should fall twice over, once by the payment of the rate and secondly, by the payment of the school fees. Theoretically that argument is unanswerable; but there are all sorts of cases that may render the retention of the limit desirable. For instance, a Municipality may levy a low rate and supplement its proceeds by taking fees from the children of those parents whose income is above Rs.30 a month. A Municipality may levy a higher rate and demand no fees at all or it may levy no rate and it may demand fees from all except the poorest.

Problem of Finance for Scheme

Then there is the fourth detail, that is, in connection with the proportion of the cost that the State has to bear in connection with the introduction of compulsion. I think it is necessary to deal with this question at some slight length, and I hope you will not mind my doing so. There is no doubt whatsoever that it will be more satisfactory if the Bill laid down what proportion of the total cost of compulsory education should fall on the State. I may tell you that my own wish was to have it in the Bill. I wanted to provide this in the statute itself, but a very serious difficulty confronted me. Under the Rules and Regulations of the Council of the Government of India you may not introduce a Bill which throws a definite financial responsibility on the Government without the previous sanction of the Viceroy. In financial matters the sanction of the Viceroy means a reference to the Secretary of State. If, therefore, I said that two-thirds of the total cost of compulsory education should be defrayed by the Government and one-third should fall upon local bodies, the Government of India might have taken the view, and almost would have taken the view, that it was throwing a definite financial responsibility on the Government of India and the Viceroy's sanction, which, in a financial matter of this kind, might have involved a reference to the Secretary of State, would have been necessary. That would have meant a loss of one whole year. Some of our best friends in Calcutta, some of the acutest legal heads advised me to get over this difficulty by omitting the proportion in the Bill and urged me to mention it in my speech and later on to introduce it in the Select Committee and

substitute the proportion. There is nothing to prevent us from doing so. Let me say that it will not be unfair by any means, as the Government will be represented in the Select Committee and unless Government is willing to assist this Bill, there is no chance of its being passed. There is an official majority in the Council and if the Government chooses to throttle this Bill, they can do so in a minute. Unless Government are friends, you cannot introduce this provision. Therefore there is nothing to prevent the inclusion of this provision in the Select Committee. I may tell you that if the Bill is so fortunate as to receive the support of the Government, this particular provision will be a matter of negotiation between the framers of this Bill and the Government of India. If we should get a two-thirds of the cost from the State, the Government of India would have to decide what proportion is to be borne by Local Governments. We have to bring in Local Governments, because whatever contributions are received by Local Bodies in aid will come through the Local Governments, for under the present scheme the Local Governments are in charge of elementary education. Therefore the distribution will have to be between local bodies and Local Governments. It is distinctly understood that the additional money required by Local Governments is to be found by the Government of India. That is understood by the Government of India and by all those who are interested in this Bill and try to support it. If the Government of India is friendly, by means of negotiations we can arrive at some conclusion whereby statutory provision can be made as to what proportion of the cost should be borne by the State. If anybody proposes that this provision should be made by statute, that is not at all antogonistic to the spirit of the Bill. In fact, it will strengthen our hands if there was a general demand that the proportion should be laid down by the statute. Then it would be possible for us to arrive at a compromise by negotiations in regard to the proportion which should be borne by the State and that could be introduced into the Bill when it comes before the Select Committee.

The Compulsory Period

These are the four more important details but there are some minor details in regard to which the opposition has not been very serious and I do not think it necessary to dwell on them at any length. One criticism has come from the warmest friends of this land, and that is that the compulsory period of four years, from six to ten, is altogether inadequate and that it should be a longer period of six years, that it should be from six to twelve, as it is at present in Baroda. You will have to be satisfied with a small beginning. I should be glad myself to extend it to 12, but every additional year means so much more money and money has to be found generally by local bodies and Local Governments. After a careful consideration of the situation, we all came to the conclusion that for the present at any rate we should be satisfied with a compulsory period of four years. Remember that it was so in Japan. They began with four years and extended it afterwards. In Italy it was three years and therefore we shall

have done extremely well, if we secure four years to begin with. Although we may begin with four years, I do not say we should stop with four years. In course of time I look to the day when compulsory education will be extended to five, six or even seven years as it is at the present moment in some of the Western countries. These are details in regard to which final adjustment will be possible when opinions are received from all parts of the country.

There are two other suggestions which have come from some of our Mahomedan friends. It is best to mention what these suggestions are and to state what my attitude is in regard to them. It has been represented to me by an influential friend, the Hon'ble Ibrahim Rahimtulla[1] who has been a friend of Primary Education for many years, that a bare majority in the Local Bodies may sometimes cause difficulties. Compulsion is rather a serious matter, especially in this country with conflicting creeds and other interests. Therefore, it would be advisable to provide for a substantial majority of two-thirds. I do not want to commit myself. But I think there is a good deal of force in that suggestion. What we want is to make a cautious beginning. The principle is secured whether we laid down a two-thirds majority or a mere majority. If we find in future that there is a fairly large body of public opinion in favour of a two-thirds majority for compulsion there is nothing to prevent us from going in for a two-thirds majority.

The second detail is the proposed addition to the number of exceptions that we have already introduced into the Bill. It has been represented that in certain parts of Upper India, especially in certain parts of the Punjab, there is an apprehension in the minds of many Mahomedans that the compulsory powers of this Bill may be used to compel Mahomedan boys, where they are in a minority, to attend Hindu schools and learn Hindi instead of Urdu. I myself have no such apprehension. But if there is such a misapprehension, no room must be given for it. I am quite prepared to add another exception to the number already embodied in the Bill, viz., that a parent may object to sending his child to a school where the vernacular taught is not the vernacular of the parent. I shall be personally prepared to add this exception to meet the case of a parent who has a conscientious objection of that sort.

General Policy of the Bill

I will now briefly refer to a few of the objections urged against the policy of the Bill. There are some friends who are with us but whose faith is not strong. They ask us: do we think that the time for compulsion has come. They are willing to support us if they are sitting in a public meeting, they will even raise their hands in favour of it. But their minds are full of doubt and they ask us, do you really think that the time for compulsion has come ? I want to say to all these friends that, so far as my personal opinion is concerned — and it is based on a lifelong study of the question of education and a fair amount of experience in

[1] Member, Bombay Legislative Council; member, Bombay Executive Council (1918-1923).

regard to the state of things in different parts of the country — my own personal opinion is this : that the time for the introduction of compulsion has not only come, but compulsion has long been overdue. That is my own personal view. In Baroda, an Indian Feudatory State, compulsion is universal today. Are the people of British territories behind the people of Baroda, people in the adjoining British territories? In what respects are they inferior to the people of Baroda? And why should not compulsion suit the people of British India? Take the case of Ceylon. A large portion of the population of Ceylon is Tamil in origin. Is the Tamil population, the huge Tamil population of this country, inferior to that of Ceylon? And yet one-third of the area of Ceylon is now under compulsion. If compulsion suits the Tamil population of Ceylon I don't see why it should not suit the Tamil population of South India. Take the case of the Philippine Islands. All the Municipalities there have voluntarily made education compulsory. There is no law authorizing them to do so but they have issued ordinances which are not thought by some to be legal, making Primary Education compulsory. Are we behind the Philippines, we a people of Aryan descent, that compulsion would not suit us when it suits boys and girls of the Philippine Islands ? Therefore to those who have this doubt I say : have a little more faith in the cause; if your conviction is slightly stronger, your fears and doubts will be found to be absolutely groundless.

Then, Sir, another objection has been raised by some friends of Primary Education. Not that I doubt their sincerity, but they are mentioning difficulties which may impress the unwary and the simple and therefore constitute an additional difficulty. They say: " where are the teachers, where are the school buildings? What are you proposing? We had already great difficulties in getting trained teachers and suitable school buildings for boys already at school. What do you mean by proposing that compulsion should be introduced?" To them I would recommend a careful study of the state of things in other countries. When compulsion was introduced in England in 1872, the same cry was raised of "where are trained teachers and suitable buildings?" In Japan the same cry was raised but they were not in the habit of complaining. The records of the time show that this difficulty has been experienced by all States. The people of Japan were different people to those of India. In Japan they did not propose to build fashionable buildings. They held their schools in verandahs, they held them in the morning and the evening, because verandahs were not sufficiently numerous. The Government made up its mind to have compulsory education, when in 1872 the Emperor said one of the grandest things that ever has been said by any Ruler. He solemnly announced that "henceforward education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family nor a family with an ignorant member." It appeared to be a most ambitious statement to make in 1872, but within less than 30 years this had been made true by the people of Japan. They did not shake their heads about difficulties over getting trained teachers. You have not trained teachers today for all your schools. You have them only for a

fraction of your schools. Let new schools be satisfied with untrained teachers. Our aim is not to give a high standard of primary education but to give ordinary education to the masses and to banish illiteracy and to give vision to one who knows to read and write. As time advances, you will get better and better teachers. Teachers will be trained to meet the requirements. The responsibilities rest with the local bodies to open training schools. There is now difficulty about getting clerks, there will be no difficulty about getting trained teachers. The current will be diverted. It is the same in regard to your buildings. Let schools be held in verandahs. There is nothing beneath one's dignity in that. What was not beneath the dignity of Japan cannot be beneath the dignity of India.

Government Contribution

Then there is the third objection raised by people who apparently talk as though they know a great deal, but whose knowledge, when closely examined, you find to be astonishingly small. They ask, "why don't you throw the whole of this cost on the Government of India?" If you examine the whole question, you will find this is a most dangerous suggestion. Nothing is more calculated to wreck this Bill than the suggestion to throw the whole of the cost on the Central Government. Secondly, there is no justification for the suggestion in the precedent of any country whose history we can study. In the first place, our compulsion is not to be universal. It has to be gradual, if it was to be universal it might be said, "let the State levy taxation." It would be the same thing whether it is Imperial taxation or local taxation. But this Bill does not propose to make compulsion universal throughout India. It is proposed to proceed by areas. The area which wants to have recourse to compulsion must bear a certain proportion of the cost, because it is only fair to the other areas. That is the first answer. The second answer is that nowhere else in the world, except in the solitary instance of Ireland, the whole cost was borne by the Central Government. I did not care to emphasize this point in the two speeches that I made in the Viceroy's Council on the subject because it would have amounted to a direct suggestion to throw a larger burden on Local Governments.

I think it is best to know how things are in other parts of the world. In England at the present moment about 55 per cent of the total cost is borne by the State and 45 per cent by Local Bodies in England and Wales. Little less than two-thirds is contributed by the State and one-third by Local Bodies in France. In Germany, America and Japan two-thirds of the burden falls on Local Bodies and less than one-third in the case of one of these countries falls on the Central Government. Our proposal throws on our Local bodies far less than what is being borne in those three countries. All that we urge is that one-third of the burden of compulsory education should be borne by the Local Bodies. In Ireland, about 90 per cent falls on the Central Government and ten on Local bodies. The financial relations between Ireland and Great Britain have a history of their own. Ireland has been

complaining for a long time that the Central Government was taking more from them than it should. Protests have been made from time to time and at the present moment a commission is sitting to consider the financial relations between the two countries and what relief should be given to Ireland in consideration of its complaints on this subject. Therefore, when this permissively compulsory Act was introduced into Ireland, more relief was given to Ireland and more liberal treatment to its Local bodies than those of Scotland and Wales. But the case of Ireland does not apply in regard to other countries. The best examples on which we might base ourselves are those of Scotland and France, where two-thirds of the cost comes from the State and one-third from the Local bodies. That is what we are asking. If we ask for this strongly, firmly and strenuously, I think, if not this proportion, at least something like it, will ultimately be forthcoming.

There is one more objection raised that I should notice. It is said that by introducing compulsion piecemeal, and by giving the local bodies this extra assistance, we are introducing inequalities in the taxation of the country; we are giving advantage to certain local areas and to that extent we are placing other areas under a disadvantage. It is a perfectly theoretical argument advanced to pile up difficulties in our path, by those who advance the argument. Are there not inequalities today in the distribution of revenues under the provincial contracts? No two provinces are fairly equal. From some Provinces nearly 50 per cent is taken for Imperial purposes more than in another. Is there not inequality there? Take the case of cities like Calcutta, Bombay and Simla. Dr. Nair raised the question of Madras. I do not know how far Madras has succeeded. Those cities get large grants for improvements. whereas places of secondary importance like Poona and Ahmedabad are practically left to shift for themselves. There is this injustice of Rs. 50 lakhs being given for Simla, Rs. 100 lakhs for Calcutta and Rs. 50 lakhs for Bombay, while other towns of importance are left to shift for themselves. Take the new policy of the Government in regard to Drainage and Water works. Under this new policy, certain substantial assistance is given by Local Governments to local bodies which go in for these works. There is inequality in this. That inequality does not differ from the inequality proposed in the Bill. What is done is to get this inequality caused by the introduction of this Bill to be as low as possible. As a matter of fact this very inequality will be a very powerful force pushing other local bodies to come and range themselves alongside this Bill.

These are the objections against the general policy of the Bill which have been urged in various quarters, which I have thought it worth my while to notice on this occasion. I fear I have trespassed unduly long on your patience. As I have already said, this is the first occasion on which I am speaking publicly on this Bill since the Bill was introduced and therefore I thought I might utilize this occasion for making a further statement. This question of universal education is really at the root of the question of the moral and material

condition of the masses of our people. Whether it is destitution, whether it is misery, whether it is squalor or whether it is disease that you want to fight, you are forced to this conclusion that the first remedy of all remedies is to be able to remove the ignorance of the mass of the people and to give to the people the benefit of education. If you want to increase the wage, earning capacity of the worker, if you want the peasant to grow stronger and take better care of himself in his dealings with the money-lender, if you want him better to understand the benefits of sanitation, if you want him to grow out of superstitious beliefs — if you want to do any one of these things, you will find that the first and foremost thing to do is to give him the rudiments of knowledge. Without that you could do nothing with him. With that you can do everything. Therefore, this question lies at the root of the moral and material advancement of our people. You will remember that, this is recognized everywhere else in the world both by the Government and the people. In this country if we are jealous of our good name, if we do not want to be reckoned with uncivilized nations, we have to realize towards our poorer brethren the same responsibility which the State and people are realizing in other countries. This is a matter of absolute justice to the poorer people of our land. They have got the same faculty of receiving the rudiments of knowledge as any of us. It is a monstrous and cruel wrong that millions and millions should be left without that knowledge and that the joy of that knowledge should be absolutely unexperienced by them. I think the conscience of our people has been sleeping much too long and it is time some of us roused that conscience as vigorously as we can.

It is not only the conscience of the people that has been sleeping, the conscience of the Government also has been long sleeping in this matter. However, there are signs that the conscience of the people is awakened and that the conscience of the Government is also awaking. I have no doubt that those who are responsible for the extension of knowledge, the Government of India and the Secretary of State are anxious to promote Primary Education almost more than any other branch of education. This year I venture to think there are special circumstances why this question should receive specially favourable attention.

The King Emperor is visiting this country. It will be a historic occasion and I think the Government of India will do well, will do wisely, if they will try to commemorate this great and historic occasion in some striking manner. And what commemoration would be more striking than the conferring of this boon of Universal Education on the masses of the people of this country? But whether the Government do confer this boon or not, so far as we people of this country are concerned, our duty in this matter is clear. It is, not to rest till we have secured this boon for the people of this land. I therefore rejoice that you have brought into existence this Elementary Education League. Let me point out to those who have organized this League that they have thereby undertaken no light responsibility. Dr. Nair referred in his speech to the

Birmingham League. If you want to do anything in the direction of what that League did, you will have to work all the time. I want you to realize that you will be confronted with many difficulties in this work, but the difficulties will vanish and success will be yours if you only have faith in the cause; yours, if you will continue to work with stout hearts, fully persuaded in your minds that in the present state of the country no work is more necessary, more urgent, more patriotic, or more blessed than this work of spreading mass education in the country. If you are firmly persuaded of the truth of this, then I am quite sure you will be able to discharge this solemn responsibility which you have undertaken. Otherwise you will only be adding one more instance to the long list of failures which we have to deplore in the case of our land. I want you to realize the responsibility that you have undertaken by bringing this League into existence. As you discharge this responsibility well or ill, so will you have deserved well or ill of your children and your childrens' children. I thank you most sincerely for the kind and patient manner in which you have listened to me.

STUDENTS AND THEIR DUTIES

The students of Madras organized an open air public meeting near the Victoria Public Hall on 25th July 1911 when an address was presented to Gokhale. Mr. Glyn Barlow, principal, Pachaiappa's College, was in the chair. Replying to the address, Gokhale spoke as follows :

My first duty on rising is to tender my most sincere and grateful thanks to the students of Madras for their address which they have just now presented to me and for the beautiful casket in which that address has been enclosed. The highly appreciative terms in which the address is couched, the cordial character of the introductory remarks which have fallen from the chairman, in whom we all recognize one of the most respected educationists of the Presidency and the warm welcome which you have accorded to me this morning will, I assure you, long live in my memory. To those a great part of whose life has been spent in the midst of students, as I had the privilege to spend for a great many years, there can be no greater joy than to be in the midst of students again, to be in touch, so to say, with their glowing enthusiasm, with their generous sentiment and with their happy and hopeful natures. While I am profoundly grateful to the people of Madras for the numerous marks of appreciation and kindness which I have received at their hands during the last few days of my visit, I assure you that no welcome that has been accorded to me in this city is more gratifying to me than this welcome from the students. Gentlemen, I wish my task were over with this brief acknowledgment of your kindness; but I fear that you expect me to give you some advice, advice which it is so easy to give, but which it is not always easy to act upon. However, since you have been so good as to present this address to me, I must, on my part, discharge such responsibility as rests on me on this occasion.

Life of a Student

I believe that the subject of the duties and responsibilites of students is one of the most well-worn subjects on which anybody could be called upon to speak. On numerous occasions, not only in this Presidency, but in the other Provinces of the country, the subject has been handled well and exhaustively by men much greater than myself and it is not therefore possible for me on this occasion to say anything new or striking or anything that may be particularly useful to you. But a few observations I will permit myself to make on some of the practical aspects of the student life in Madras. When I was a young man and a student like yourself, I often heard elderly men saying that the days of student life were in some respects the happiest days of one's life. I confess that I was not in those days quite able to understand the meaning of that observation. I could not understand where the happiness lay,—whether in the exacting demand which the teachers made on the student or in the succession of examinations or other

hardships with which you all and every student elsewhere is familiar. However, since I began what may be called my later life and saw much of the world outside I began to understand and I now understand more and more every day the deep significance and the meaning of that observation. There is no doubt whatever in my mind that if I could now go back once again to the days of studenthood, I would do so at once with pleasure. The life of a student is, comparatively speaking, a sheltered life. There are, of course, certain responsibilities which you cannot get rid of but you occupy a position of vantage in regard to the performance of these responsibilities. The responsibilities are definite and they are assigned to you by those who are willing to take care of you and there is not much need to be constantly exercising your own judgment. You know that in later life the position is reversed; instead of others helping you, you have in the first place to help yourself. Often you have to help others and thus have the worry and anxiety of watching the eternal conflict by which you are surrounded — conflict not only between duty and inclination, for that would be simple enough, but the conflict between one, the duty and another, the consciousness of the little done and the vast undone,—to use a poet's line, the utter disproportion between effort and achievement. All these things weigh you down as you grow in life and you realize more and more the meaning and the significance of the observation which is often made to you, that the happiest days of your life are the days of your studenthood. Gentlemen, because this is the happy part of your life, there are therefore certain responsibilities attached to it which must be well discharged by you, because no privilege in life is worth having, unless it is attended by corresponding duties, and there are certain duties, which those who placed you in your present privileged position expect you to perform.

Duty to Yourselves

I will consider these duties under four heads. First of all, the duty which you owe to yourselves; then there is the duty which you owe to your fellow-students; the third duty is the duty which you owe to those in authority over you, and the last duty is a duty which you owe to those who are around you, not students, but people of the wider world around you. If you consider these four duties one by one, and if you realize what is exactly expected of you in regard to every one of these duties, if you do the best that lies in your power to perform those duties properly, then you may well say for yourself that you can give a good account of your student days.

First, as regards the duty to yourselves. That duty is twofold. You have first of all to lay by a stock of knowledge that will suffice you not merely for your examinations but will be helpful to you in later life. Those who have to attend to their studies at a school or a college often try to acquire knowledge as they get along, but they have to struggle with the fact of the performance of other duties and it is not always possible to acquire knowledge while you have to give much of your time to the performance of these duties. Knowledge is an exacting mis-

tress; she needs devotion, whole-hearted, on the part of the person who seeks her. Such whole-hearted devotion is possible only in the days of studenthood. Therefore, the first part of the duty towards yourselves is to take the utmost advantage of your present position, to lay by a stock of knowledge that will be useful to you in later life.

Importance of Character

But it is not merely knowledge that will help you or help any class of human beings by itself. Along with that knowledge there is another requisite that you must secure, and that is character. It is almost a truism to say that more depends for success in life on character than on knowledge. It is an invidious thing to distinguish between comparative values of knowledge and character. But since both are indispensable, I would urge on you that you should attach as much importance to character as to knowledge. This character must show itself in earnestness, in energy of action and in high and generous sentiments being brought to bear upon the discharge of your duties and in recognizing what is due to others and what is due to yourselves. You have to acquire a character which will raise the whole life of the people amidst whom you move and for whom you are expected to work. As character will naturally have to act on those around you, the stronger, the firmer and the nobler, it is the better work you will do for the country. In turn you are sure to be acted upon by the character of those around you. Even if you acquire a fairly high character while you are at school or college, it may not always be easy to retain that character in the struggles of later life, because you are sure to be acted upon by those who are around you. This emphasizes the importance of a high level of character generally which, however, can only be slowly acquired in any country. But if you begin by acquiring a strong character for yourselves and when you, in course of time, occupy the place of the present seniors then the students or the younger men of the succeeding generation will find that the forces that act on them are more helpful for retaining a good character than possibly what you may be able to find today. This is the twofold duty which you owe to yourselves — the acquiring of knowledge (I use "knowledge" in its widest sense) not only knowledge through books, but knowledge from every quarter which will be useful to you in later life and acquiring character which will enable you to achieve success in whatever work you may take in hand. That, in brief, is the duty to yourselves.

Duty to Fellow-Students

Your duty to your fellow-students will teach you in later life and will secure for you the habit of co-operation. The foundation of the habit of co-operation is really to be laid in our student days. Let me tell you, after twenty-five years of public life in this country, that if we are deficient in one quality more than in another, it is in the instinct and habit of co-operation. Many of us wish well to the country, start movements calculated to further the best interest of the land, and are keen and anxious to do what lies in their power to promote these

movements. But, then, we all pull in our own separate ways, because we do not sufficiently recognize the value of the true spirit of co-operation. This habit of co-operation you can acquire, and acquire in a very marked manner, during your school or college days because you are trained to be together in your class, and you cannot have it all your own way if you want to get on with your class. Therefore, if you use your opportunities properly, you will know exactly how to get on with them by sometimes giving in to them and sometimes standing out for your own view, being regardful of the feelings and considerations of other people. This habit of co-operation once acquired will continue with you all your life. It is not easy to acquire it in later life if you have not already acquired it in student days. This, briefly, is the duty which you owe to your fellow-students. There are other qualities that you can develop in your relations with your fellow-students. But I need not go into them just now.

Duty to Parents and Teachers

Your third duty is towards those in authority over you. There are, in the first place, parents and guardians, and in the second place, teachers to whose care you are committed and, lastly, the authorities under whose rule you have to live. You must carefully realize what your duties are in regard to these authorities and not transgress these duties while you are in the stage of student-hood. Two of the finest traditions of the East which have been universally recognized are obedience to parents and reverence to teachers. This is a recognition made not only by the people of the East, but also by the people of the West and I should be extremely sorry, and I should consider that it would be nothing less than a national calamity, if either the one or the other of the two traditions is seriously weakened in this land. Obedience to parents, especially during the time of the studenthood and reverence for teachers while you are studying under them — these are two of the most essential conditions necessary for acquiring knowledge and for taking the fullest advantage of those opportunities which are placed within your reach while you are students. I do not mean to say that, when you are able to judge for yourselves and stand on your own legs — and this dignity can be claimed only by those who stand on their own legs — you should slavishly follow what is recommended, even if it be by your parents or teachers. I do not say that. As a matter of fact, I often feel that this obedience to parents is carried too far in this country. While you are young men and students, while parents have to find means wherewith to enable you to prosecute your studies, while they have to take care of you, it is necessary that their wishes should prevail with you in all matters; but when once your education is completed and the struggle of life commences, and when you are able to stand on your own legs, you owe it to yourselves and to your country, that you should use your own judgment as to what line you should adopt and what work you should do. I have often heard an aged father or an aged mother pleading as an excuse for a young man possessed of means shrinking from the work of the country. I have often heard it said: "I am quite willing to do this,

my heart is in this matter, but my father objects and my mother objects." I think our young men must claim, after they have been educated, to judge for themselves, as to what their own future life should be. To that extent, I should really like that obedience to parents should not be overdone as it is at present. But there is no question about it whatever, that while you are students and while your parents make it possible for you to study and to start on your career absolute obedience to parents is necessary.

Reverence towards Teachers

In the same way you owe reverence to your teacher while you are at school or college. I do not think that any student is justified in doing anything to which a teacher takes exception. We have often heard complaints made that the present relations between teachers and pupils are largely mercenery; the pupil pays his fee, attends a certain number of lectures and walks home. That I must say is a most unreasonable and wrong view, a disastrous view to take, as to relations between teachers and students. It is quite true that owing to the large number of students that attend colleges and schools, they cannot receive at the hands of the teachers that same personal attention, that in ancient times the teacher was able to bestow on his pupil. But that does not alter the fundamental relation between the teacher and the pupil. Unless your whole attitude in college and the school is founded upon a proper feeling of reverence for the teacher, you will miss one of the principal lessons of the school or college life, viz., the appreciation of discipline. Remember that in later life, along with the spirit of co-operation, what you will need most and what we need most in public life is a true spirit of discipline — the true spirit of that discipline which voluntarily subordinates your judgment, your convenience and personal gain to common good. Unless you acquire this habit at school or college, it will not be possible for you to acquire it in later life. Besides the want of co-operation, the great cause of the disruption of many of our movements is the lack of discipline in our ranks, different people pulling in different ways.

You must realize that there is great dignity in restraint which is voluntarily endured. Restraint which you have to endure, because you must, may be galling; there is not much dignity in it. But restraint which you voluntarily endure out of reverence for the person from whom it comes, because for the moment, you accept his judgment as superior to yours, adds dignity to your nature, certainly strengthens your nature, and there is nothing humiliating in such restraint. Your attitude towards your teacher should be one of such feeling of restraint. Whatever your teacher objects to you must not persist in doing. This obedience to parents and reverence to teachers are the two duties that you owe to those who are over you in authority.

Duty to Government

In addition to that, you owe a duty to the rulers, the Government which is the supreme authority over us all. Time will come for you when you may have to criticize and judge the actions of the Government. As a matter of fact, when

you have finished your studies and set up yourselves in life it will not only be permitted to you, but it will be your duty to pass such criticism on and consider whatever the Government does from your own standpoint and from the standpoint of the interests of the country to which you belong and even protest against measures which require to be protested against, or express appreciation of measures which have to be appreciated. All that will come to you; you must bide your time; while you are students, it is no part of your work to sit in judgment over those who are in supreme authority. You are not in the first place affected by what they do; it is the wider world that is affected. There are the elders who feel the effect of Government action so far as the outside world is concerned. Consequently if you have a fair amount of humility, you will allow that you are not yet equipped by that knowledge of public affairs or by that practical acquaintance with the realities of life — you are not equipped on these two scores for forming a correct judgment by yourselves. You may be easily led away by passion, appeals to sentiments and be prejudiced. Even grown-up people find it difficult to stand against these influences. Students with their generous mind and unsophisticated hearts naturally fall an easy prey to stirring up emotions. But that very circumstance unfits them in some instances to exercise independent judgment on current affairs. In any case, as long as they are students, not standing on their own legs; it is not their business to do so. While they are students, their attitude towards the Government of the country, such as it may be good, bad or indifferent, should be one of acquiescence, loyal acquiescence. You should do nothing whereby your relations with the authorities will be disturbed, You should, no doubt, study public questions, but wait for your time. But while you are students you should give no cause to anybody to say that your attitude towards the authorities is one of greater or less hostility. I wanted to emphasize this point because it will be preliminary to something that I wanted to say about some criticism in which many people have indulged about our student community.

Duty to Wider World

The last duty that you owe to those who are in the wider world is to acquire a knowledge of their needs, observe their condition and observe their struggle, and to acquire an attitude of mind, so as to sympathize with those who are struggling, even though you are not immediately able to give them redress. There is a great deal of injustice and suffering in the wider world which requires to be remedied, and when it comes to you to play the part of grown-up men, it is expected you will contribute your share to remove these things. In the meantime you must not enter the wider world without knowledge. You are not only justified but bound to study the condition of things around you, observe and study, but not take any active part in movements intended for setting things right. Observe and study the conditions carefully, as you are bound to do,

Criticisms about Students

That brings me to some criticisms which have recently been indulged in about the student community of India. Gentlemen, you will not misunderstand anything that I say on this occasion. My credentials in this matter are, I think, fairly above board. I gave twenty years of my life to work amongst students; and I should not have done that if I had not thought that the best hopes of this country were centered in the student population of this land. I want you therefore not to misunderstand me because what I say proceeds not from any endeavour to depreciate the good qualities of our students which are many and numerous, and which are sufficiently recognized by critics, but from a desire that you should not lay yourselves open to any criticism which can possibly be avoided. During the last few years there is, no doubt, that a wave of unrest has passed over this land. Things have been unsettled which at one time were thought to be settled well. I will not go into the causes which have brought about this state of things. I have often spoken of these causes; I have often written about them, and my views are fairly known. The responsibility for this state of things never lay with the students of this land. The students of this country could not help being affected by the currents that were in the air. When an epidemic breaks out the constitution of every person within the area affected is also affected. When disturbing causes are at work in the air around you they are bound to act upon you. If for some few years, some of our students have shown a disturbed state of feeling, it is due to the circumstances around them. If the surroundings are charged with disturbing currents, the responsibility for the disturbance is not on the students. Again if a few students, — mind you they were only a few young men here and there — broke from that restraint which they should have recognized, it was not their fault.

The responsibility lay more with the elders who exploited the enthusiasm of the young, honestly thinking no doubt that that was in the interests of the country. I do not question the motives of anybody. But the responsibility lay more with those who exploited the enthusiasm of the young than with the young people themselves who possess this enthusiasm. I want you to see that much of the criticism of our students which we hear on all sides is ignorant criticism, prejudiced criticism and even dishonest criticism. I have often felt that our students are certainly not very different from the students of other lands. Students of other lands sometimes give way to sudden outbursts of feeling in a much more marked degree than the students of this land do. We have acquired a name for being a decorous people and are, therefore, judged by the standard of quietness and decorum which is associated with our tradition. But when some people find that our students are a little bit more like students of other countries, they immediately think that this will not do, that students are getting out of han d and are showing signs of turbulence. It should therefore be recognized that much of the criticism is wrong criticism. I have used a strong term and I fee l justified in saying that in some cases it is dishonest criticism — dishonest

because men who pass it really do not believe it. They say it is due to the spread of higher education and, therefore the students are blamable. I am quite sure that a great deal is made of a small matter. But, at the same time, you owe it to yourselves, you owe it to us, we owe it to you that we should all try and find out what amount of truth there is in this criticism, so that if by any means there is room for improvement in our conduct, we should not lose the opportunity of improving ourselves.

Though much of the criticism is prejudiced and proceeds from quarters which deserve to be suspected, yet when everything is said and done, I do think that there is a certain amount of truth in the criticism that the students in recent years have shown a tendency here and there to get out of hand. The responsibility for this state of things is not theirs. But we have to look at the results, the consequences that have actually taken place. We will have to look at the consequences that are likely to result if this tendency to get out of hand is not controlled in time. Gentlemen, I want you to look at the question from two standpoints. The first standpoint is that of your own self-interest by which I mean the interests of higher education; and secondly, I want you to look at it from the standpoint of the work which your elders have taken on hand. I put it to you if it is a good thing to fill the mind of those who have power in controlling the destinies of higher education with any fear or anxiety as to the possible course of events in the country on account of the spread of higher education. I put it as guardedly as that; and I hope, that my meaning will be clear. As to men in authority, not all of them are always fair; many of them are fair; the average of human nature is there; a good many of them are fair, some are more than fair and generous; a few are below par and are ungenerous. It is these ungenerous men that create the worst mischief; it is they from whom the worst criticisms come; it is they who are most vociferous; they are the men who are most easily heard, and when these men are furnished with a handle, they run down the effects of higher education in this country.

What does it mean? The final authority in regard to the affairs of India, under the existing circumstances, is not in this land, but 6,000 miles away. A knowledge, an accurate knowledge of Indian conditions is not possible to be spread there; and the action that is taken there, if it is based on any knowledge, is very often based on one-sided knowledge. It is easy for the class of critics, of whom I have spoken, to spread a feeling of anxiety and apprehension as to the possible results of higher education; and then an impetus may be given to the Government action from that distance which our Government with more knowledge of the people may not be able to resist. So far, despite the criticisms on the effects of higher education, our Government have kept their heads fairly cool. A great deal of excited language has been used in England by men who were once in authority and who may be in authority again. We owe it to ourselves that this handle is not put into the hands of men who are interested in running down the spread of higher education in this country. If students will scrupulously restrict themselves to their studies, discharge the fourfold duties

that I have spoken of, and study the different problems I mentioned and stop there, you may take it that no handle whatsoever will be available, and the mouths of those who are the most dangerous critics of higher education will be effectually shut up.

Secondly, you have to look at it from the point of view of the work which your elders have undertaken in this country, I assure you, and you may take it from me, that your elders are embarrassed rather than benefited by the exuberance of your enthusiasm. Your enthusiasm is a delightful thing to contemplate when it does not hamper us; it is an actual pleasure to come in contact with that enthusiasm and it is a refreshing thing for us to feel young again in your company. But when the judgment of your leaders pulls one way, and if the young men who take hasty action come forward and combine their energies for pulling the other way, I assure you that things are not made easy for those who have undertaken the duty of doing their work for this country. Again, you will find that, even if you are not actually pulling the other way, still very often your association with public movements enables our critics to cry down these movements and to underrate their importance on the plea that the bulk of the men who are in the movements are students of immature judgment, not in a position to judge for themselves. Very often far from strengthening public movements, you weaken them by sour active participation in them. I want you to realize this, because, in the interests of the country and the public work which, I am sure, you all want to be well done, it is necessary that you should not come forward before your time and take an active part in public movements. But even here it is difficult to lay down a general proposition. There may be movements which may be helpful to you and to everybody about which no complaint whatsoever may be made; but there are certain movements in regard to which the position is not quite so clear.

What the Students Should Avoid

I can only roughly and in broad terms lay down one or two propositions. If any course of conduct in public matters is opposed to the wishes of your parents or your teachers, you must have nothing to do with it. Obedience to your parents and reverence to your teachers must teach you that you must have nothing to do with anything that they take exception to. Whether what they say is right or wrong, I don't want you to sit in judgment over them. You know that your teachers will not object to your studying hard or to your acquiring habits of co-operation and discipline or to studying the problems of the wider world. If there is any objection to anything from any one of these three quarters, parents, teachers, or the authorities under whose rule you live for the moment you must have nothing to do with it. Secondly, I go even further than that and say that if any course of action is likely to embroil you in violent and partisan disputes or controversies, if you are likely to be called upon to take sides before your time, on account of your participation in public movements, then I say, have nothing to do with those movements,

because if there is one thing more indispensable than another, for performing your work at school or college, it is that you should not be subjected to excitements. Therefore do not get involved in violent or partisan controversies; and if you take part in such controversies of the outer world, you go beyond your limit or depth. Any course of action which is likely to involve you in such controversies you must desist from and therefore while you are students you should not come forward and take part in movements to which either your parents or teachers or the authorities generally have an objection, and you must submit to the restriction that may be imposed upon you. In the same manner if any course of conduct is likely to embroil you in violent partisan controversies, or to fill your mind with unhealthy excitement, you must have nothing to do with it. If outside this, by any means you can take a part, your part can only be subordinate; and if you can take a useful part in any useful movement, I should not be willing to say that that should not be done. If you avoid the pitfalls I have mentioned, I can say you will be fairly safe. Whenever you are in doubt, the counsel of your elders, teachers and parents will always be available to you.

Student's Conduct

Having said this, I must say that during the last five years the tendency has been somewhat marked for students to indulge in criticisms against the Government which are somewhat of an excited character. This has been so nearly all over the country. This has been also so in this Presidency though it is regarded as a quiet Presidency. I want you to recognize that nothing but evil will result by stepping beyond your bounds. Some temporary purpose may be served; some stong expression may be conveyed to Government as being the public feeling. If a meeting is attended by 500 men and another meeting is attended by 5,000 young men the second meeting may be helpful to the first; but the little advantage that is secured is purchased at a heavy sacrifice. Remember that once you get accustomed to excitement, your studies will, as sure as anything, take a second place in your hearts. I have known hundreds of cases in my time, if not thousands of cases, in which the lives of young men have been wrecked, because they took to the work of public movements before their time. If once you are used to the heady excitement which is inseparable from public movements, especially of a controversial character, then your college life, your school life will cease to have any attraction for you. You must, therefore, desist from these excitements, as much as you will desist from anything which is intoxicating. That has not been done during the last few years; and to that extent we have supplied a ground for criticism. Public life does not gain but, on the other hand, loses by your association with that life, and by your active participation in the responsibilities of that life. If you can play a secondary or subsidiary part without transgressing the bounds that I have spoken of, you may be useful. These things have not been borne in mind in the past few years. I hope they will be borne in mind in the coming years. We all learn by experience. A

bitter experience is necessary before a lesson is learnt. Some bitter lessons have been learnt by the student community; bitter lessons painful to parents, painful to teachers, and painful to students, have had to be learnt in nearly all the provinces of India during the last three or four years; and I earnestly trust that these lessons will not be lost upon our student community, that there will be no occasion for these lessons to be learnt again and that an even course of life will be pursued by them with benefit to themselves and benefit to the country in which their hearts naturally lie. Gentlemen, I have spoken long but I will say one word more before I bring my remarks to a close.

The Hope of the Future.

It is commonplace to say that the students of a country are the future hope of the country. Though it is a commonplace observation, nonetheless it is a profoundly true observation — the students of a country are its future hope and its future stay. This is so everywhere, and that is for the simple reason that those who are students of today become the grown-up men of tomorrow. Apart from this, it is so in a special degree in India because men who have come under the influence of modern education and who are the best hopes of the country, are few, comparatively few. It is a well-known proposition in political economy that the value and price of an article must depend, other things being equal, upon the plentifulness of supply. As your numbers are so few, a great deal more depends upon the young men in this country than upon the young men in other countries. Only one million of men have come under some sort of English education, and this number includes those who have stopped with lower standards. I do not think that there are more than one hundred thousand men who have received higher education. What is such a small number for such a vast population as three hundred millions? There is work to be done for the country in every sphere. I do not want to damp your ardour or enthusiasm by anything that I have spoken. Rather I want to stimulate it, so that it may be available to you when time comes for working on your own responsibility. At present you have to take advantage of the opportunities that lie within your reach and to equip yourselves for the work which lies in front of you and that work lies in a variety of fields. I do not stand before you to urge you to prefer one kind of career to another. I do not stand before you today with that purpose. You may choose any career that appears to you to be the best, and in this the wish of your parents must have a large share. But whatever career you seek you will have to bring to bear on the discharge of that career all the enthusiasm of which young natures are capable, all the spirit of discipline and co-operation which I want you to acquire, and that character and knowledge with which you will strengthen yourselves during your student days. If you become Government servants — that is the most beaten track of all, and I hope it will not be the favourite track that it has been all these years — it is still in your power to benefit not only yourselves but also those around you and your countrymen. If you discharge your duties properly and if

you set up a high standard of duty to yourselves you are bound not merely by the actual discharge of your duties to help others, but by the influence which your conduct is bound to have on those around you, you are bound to elevate the standard of duty for others. It is the same in other fields whether you take the political life or the social field, or the industrial field or the intellectual field. Whichever field you select, if you bring to bear upon it a high sense of duty, you will have done all that lies in your power.

Advice to Students

Remember that any contribution in this direction adds to the strength of the land, and no man is so insignificant. A few may be able and distinguished; these few may for the moment appear to be striking personalities, which may sometimes fill the mind of younger men almost with a feeling of despair. But this is not the lesson you should learn from the presence of striking personalities. Even striking personalities cannot by themselves do much; they require assistance, a large number of other men, some immediately behind them, some still further behind and some a long way behind them. Have you ever heard how a great river reaches the sea ? There is a great deal to be learnt from that. Take the mighty river, the Ganges, and see how it reaches the sea. At its origin and start, it is a tiny stream but as it progresses, other small streams pour their tributaries into the principal stream. As stream after stream flows into it, the river gathers volume and breadth, and then in the end you have the mighty river of which we are all so proud — the Ganges of India. It is the same thing in regard to public work and great movements. You want some striking personalities at the back. Unless these other streams pour their tributaries into the big stream, it will not attain the dimensions which in the end it attains. In the same manner unless a number of smaller men — call them smaller if you like, but no man need look upon himself as small, if he does his work in his own sphere — come forward and co-operate with the striking personalities, a great deal of work will remain undone. What will happen if a number of small streams did not pour their tributaries into the big river and were ambitious enough to go and join the sea independently? They will dry up in the course of a few yards. It is the same thing in the case of minor men which most of us are. If all of us were anxious to play a great part in the country, nothing but chaos and confusion will result. But if we are willing to accept the position which a wisely judging Providence has assigned to us according to our intellect and our capacity — if we recognize that and are content to do the work which suits us best according to that capacity, then, I think, we shall have done some work for our country as these tributaries have, by joining the mighty river, enabled it to become really mighty. I do not ask you to accept one set of opinions in preference to another; I do not ask you at this stage to make up your mind as to what you will do when you complete your studies. You must judge for yourselves when the time comes. You must study carefully, read widely, observe accurately,

ponder deeply, and then when the time to form judgment comes, judge wisely. If you do this, if you throw your heart into the work which you take up, if you will recognize that your responsibility is over when you have done your best — if you will do that, then I think there is nothing further to be said. I hope you will judge wisely when your time comes, and you will throw your heart into the work which you take up and acquit yourselves like men.

BENGAL'S SUPPORT TO BILL

A public meeting, convened by the Sheriff of Calcutta, was held in the Town Hall there on Saturday, September 2, 1911, to consider the Elementary Education Bill. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose[1] *occupied the chair. Gokhale made the following speech on the occasion :*

It is to me a great privilege to be invited to take part in the proceedings of this magnificent meeting and I hope you will let me say at the outset how deeply grateful I feel to the organizers for the opportunity which they have thus afforded me to make a public statement on the subject of my Bill in the metropolis of India. Gentlemen, the agenda says that I am to explain the provisions of the Bill to this meeting. I am glad to undertake this duty because, I hope it will enable me to dispel any misconceptions that may still be lurking in the minds of some as to the exact character and scope of the Bill; but, if I am to do this duty satisfactorily, I shall need the indulgence of this meeting, because it is already a late hour and I fear I shall have to trouble you with a somewhat long statement.

Gentlemen, there seems to be an inpression in some quarters that unless a person is prepared to approve of every single detail of this Bill he is not justified in giving his support to the measure. I beg leave to say that no view could be more erroneous than this. The Bill does not claim to be launched complete in every detail.It has not come into the world like Anthena issuing from the head of Jove, clad in full armour. It has been put forward tentatively and I may mention that I explicitly stated in the Council when introducing it that if I was so fortunate as to obtain from the Council the permission I asked for at its hands to introduce the measure its discussion would then be transferred from the Council to the Press and platform; and in the light of such criticism as would be forthcoming in different parts of the country. I should be glad to undertake any revision of the measure that might be found necessary. Therefore, no one need fear that a general support of the measure would commit him to every detail of it. If you are in substantial agreement with the framer of the Bill in regard to its general lines; if you think that the Bill is a step in the right direction and that it might be made into a workable scheme with small modifications as regards details, then I call upon you to accord your whole-hearted and enthusiastic support to this measure.

Four Points for Consideration

Gentlemen, what is this Bill? It is a small measure of nineteen clauses and its

[1] Dr. Rash Behary Ghose (1840-1921); well-known jurist; closely associated with the Calcutta University to which he made a benefaction of several lakhs of rupees; Chairman, Reception Committee, Calcutta Congress (1906); presided over the Surat Congress (1907) which ended in confusion, President, Madras Congress (1908).

principal object is to introduce the principle of compulsion into the system of elementary education in this country. Now four questions arise in connection with this. First, why is compulsion necessary? Secondly, how is compulsion to be introduced? Thirdly, what is to be the character of this compulsion and what procedure is to be adopted in enforcing it ? And last, but not least, how is the cost of it to be borne? These are the four questions that arise, and with your permission, I will say a few words on each one of them.

Necessity of Compulsion

As regards the necessity of compulsion, if the experience of the whole civilized world has established one fact more indisputably than another, it is this, that without the compulsory element it is not possible to spread mass education throughout the country. Every country that has tried for mass education on a voluntary basis has come round and acknowledged that unless compulsion was introduced, it was not possible to have universal education. Now, if every country has found that out by experience we might also accept that for ourselves.

Of course, there are those who doubt the utility of mass education in this country. With such men we must decline to argue. There are also those who are such extreme individualists that they do not admit the value of compulsion, whether in the West or East. With these people, too, we must decline to argue at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Japanese Example

Lastly, there are those who adopt a more insidious form of criticism. They say that compulsion is all right in the West but that it is not suited to India and that in any case the time for its introduction has not yet arrived. Their first argument is that this is a Western idea and that mass education is not suited to an oriental country. The answer to this is that Japan adopted 40 years ago a system of compulsion, which has worked in a most satisfactory manner. In 1872, when compulsory education was introduced in Japan, the Emperor issued a most remarkable rescript declaring that it was his ambition that there should not be a single village in the land without a school or a single family with an ignorant member. And in the lifetime of a single generation, Japan has made good her word. But, say our critics, Japan is a different kind of country. Look at her achievements on the battlefield, look at her achievements in the arts of peace. Japan's case you must not apply to India. Now, Gentlemen, I do not admit the soundness of this view. But for the sake of argument. I am prepared to put Japan aside.

Precedent of the Philippines

I will take the case of another country, also oriental, where compulsion has been successfully introduced and which has not distingushed itself in war or in the arts of peace. That country is the Philippine Islands. These Islands came under American rule twelve years ago. Before that they were under the

rule of Spain. When they were under the rule of Spain, there was hardly any education in the land. But when America came on the scene, she threw herself into the work of mass education with all her enthusiasm and the enthusiasm soon spread to popular leaders in the Islands. And the earnestness of these leaders in the cause was so great that although there is as yet no State law making elementary education compulsory, most of the Municipalities in the Philippines have passed local ordinances enforcing compulsion. Many lawyers hold that these local ordinances are not really binding, but so great is the enthusiasm for mass education that no one has come forward to contest the validity of these ordinances and every one is cheerfully paying the extra taxes required for carrying out compulsion. But the critics say, "Oh! the Philippines are under American rule", as if that need make any difference. If it makes any difference, it means that under British rule, education is taken care of less than under American rule.

Example of Ceylon

But, for argument's sake, I will put aside even the Philippines. I now come to a country — a small country — which is under British rule, which, though not a part of India now, was at one time an appendage of India. In Ceylon elementary education was made compulsory three years ago. In 1905 a commission[1] was appointed to consider the question. That Commission recommended that compulsion should be introduced, as, otherwise, elementary education could not be spread. The Government did not accept the findings of the Commission, but appointed another Commission to consider the question further. The Second Commision made even stronger recommendations than the first on the point; and the Colonial Government felt itself bound to accept those recommendations. And in 1908, three years ago, the first step in compulsory education in Ceylon was taken and sixteen Districts were "proclaimed" by the Governor— that is the term used there to mean that they were placed under the Compulsory Law; and one-third of Ceylon is under the Compulsory Law today and the Government reports show that it is working very satisfactorily. This is what has happened in Ceylon under British rule. But the critics may say, Ceylon is outside of India, and Ceylon is under the Colonial Office. What force such an argument has, I do not see; but I will put even Ceylon aside.

The Baroda Parallel

I will come to India itself. Within the borders of India the Maharaja of Baroda[2] has introduced free compulsory education throughout his State. He began with a small experiment about twenty years ago. Having satisfied himself of its workability, he extended it about five years ago to the whole State. And today we find that about 85 per cent of the boys in the State, 60 per cent

[1] See foot-note on p. 94.

[2] See foot-note on p. 95.

of Hindu girls and 45 per cent of Mahomedan girls are already at school. That is what has been achieved in Baroda. I think that these instances form a mass of evidence which is quite sufficient for our purpose, though it might not suffice for our critics. If compulsory education is suited to the Philippines, to Ceylon and to Baroda, we may take it that it is also suited to British India, and we need not attach any value to the contention that the time for its introduction has not yet arrived. Gentlemen, I do not think it is necessary to elaborate this point further.

Methods of Compulsion

The next question is: How is this compulsion to be introduced in this country? There are certain special considerations to be borne in mind in this matter in formulating any proposals. In the first place, there is a diversity of conditions in different parts of the country. Secondly, the Government is a foreign Government whose position is necessarily somewhat exceptional. The best plan therefore would be to place the required legislation in the matter in the first instance on a permissive basis, as had been done in Ireland empowering Local Bodies to introduce compulsion within their respective areas, as they were ripe for it, with the previous sanction of the Local Governments. This would not only mean introducing compulsion gradually area by area, instead of throughout the country at once, but it would also throw the responsibility of such introduction on the representatives of the people instead of on the Government. Such a course is necessary for many reasons. The introduction of compulsion is bound to evoke a certain amount of unpopularity at the start and in view of the exceptional position of the Government in the country it is not unnatural that it should hesitate to accept the risk of such unpopularity; but no such consideration need stand in the way of the educated classes of the country coming forward to take upon themselves the responsibility of compulsion.

Some Criticisms Examined

If our patriotism is real, if our interest in the moral and material well-being of the mass of our people is genuine we must not shrink from facing whatever unpopularity may come to us in the discharge of this urgent and patriotic duty. As regards the character of the compulsion to be applied and the procedure to be followed in applying it, we have the legislation of other countries to guide us and the provisions in the Bill dealing with those matters have been framed on the lines of similar legislation elsewhere, only our proposals are milder and more modest. I know there are many friends of compulsion in this country who are dissatisfied with the mildness and moderation of our measure in these respects. One point in particular which has been urged in many quarters is that the compulsion period proposed in the Bill, namely, of four years, from 6 to 10, is too short and that it should be extended to six years, the higher age limit being raised from 10 to 12.

Now I should like to say that if it were possible to do this, no one would rejoice more than myself. But we must look at the question from a practical standpoint. If the period is raised from 4 to 6 years, the cost of compulsion will also be correspondingly raised, namely, by 50 per cent. Already difficulties are raised as to how money is to be found to work the scheme embodied in the Bill and those difficulties will be further intensified if the cost of the scheme is increased by 50 per cent. Let me remind you that Japan was content for a long time with a compulsory period of four years only, and that for the main purpose which we have in view, namely, to banish illiteracy from the land.

Possibility of Evasion

Exception has been taken to the words "or other sufficient cause" in the clause providing for exemption from attendance at school in certain circumstances. It is said that these words will open the door wide to evasion. But I may mention that the words have been introduced at the instance of our greatest authority in matters of law, our distinguished chairman at this meeting. He assures me that the expression will have to be interpreted in the light of the grounds for exemption enumerated before and the fear of its opening the door wide to evasion is groundless. On the other hand, the words will be useful in preventing real hardship in many cases.

Some Mahomedan friends have expressed the fear that the provisions of the Bill might be used to compel a Moslem boy to learn a vernacular not his own. As there is no desire on anyone's part that this should happen and as there is already enough misunderstanding between Hindus and Mahomedans in the land, I am prepared to remove all cause for this fear by providing that no child should be required to attend a school the vernacular taught at which is not his own vernacular.

Question of Cost

My friend Babu Motilal Ghose[1] has urged on me the desirability of softening still further the penal clauses of the Bill which I think are already very mild. He suggests that cases under the Bill should be dealt with, not by Magistrates but by benches or committees of non-officials. I think it is a good suggestion and I shall be glad to urge it on the Select Committee if the Bill is so fortunate as to reach that stage.

The last question which we have to consider is the question of cost. In some respects this is as important a question as the principle of compulsion itself and I fear I must deal with it at some length. The first thing I wish to say on this point is that it is necessary for us to realize that if we want to secure to ourselves the advantages of compulsion we must be prepared to pay for those advantages. Nothing for nothing is the rule of this world and we cannot have

[1] Editor, *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta and the *Indian Spiritual Magazine*.

universal education in this land without our being prepared to find the money required for it. Now the first thing to consider in connection with this question of funds is what is the extent of the problem to be faced, what is the amount of money that would be required to carry out the scheme embodied in the Bill.

The Bill proposes to limit compulsion in the first instance to boys alone and that between the ages of six and ten. The total male population of British India is about twelve crores and it will be found that about 10 per cent of it is between the ages of six and ten. The total number of boys in British India therefore that will have to attend school under this Bill is about 12,000,000. Of these about 30 lakhs are already at school today. The number of boys of all ages receiving primary education in British India at the present moment is about 40 lakhs. It may be taken as a formula that about three-fourths of the children attending primary schools are between the ages six and ten. We thus get about 30 lakhs as the number of boys between the ages of six and ten as already at school, leaving about 90 lakhs of boys to be compulsorily brought to school. And the question is : what will be the annual cost of educating these 90 lakhs of boys? According to Mr.Orange's[1] last quinquennial report, the average cost of primary instruction per boy for the whole country is a little under Rs. 4 a year. I have seen it stated that the Government is anxious to raise this average to Rs. 5 and I am prepared to take this higher figure, namely Rs. 5 for my calculation. Ninety lakhs of boys at Rs. 5 per head will, therefore, cost about Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores a year.

Government's Contribution

Some critics try to complicate the problem by importing into it the question of constructing better school buildings for primary schools or having more trained teachers. No one denies the desirability of better school buildings, or of a sufficient supply of trained teachers, but I strongly feel that it is very unfair to swell the figure of the cost of compulsion in this way. If poor school houses and a large proportion of untrained teachers can do for the children already at school, I cannot understand why they should not also do for those children that are not at school. The problem of good school houses and of a sufficient supply of trained teachers has confronted every country that has introduced compulsion and everywhere it has been only gradually solved; and we in India must be content to do the same. Taking then the extra annual cost of bringing the whole of the male population between the ages of six and ten compulsorily at school at Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores, we propose under our scheme that two-thirds of it, that is Rs. 3 crores should be borne by the State and one-third, that is, Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores, by local bodies. It is really not difficult for the Government of India to find its share of Rs. 3 crores, which again would be worked up to only gradually, if it is anxious do to so.

When Lord Kitchener[2] wanted three crores a year for his reorganization

[1] See foot-note on p. 76.

[2] See foot-note on p. 155.

scheme, the Government had no difficulty in finding the money. When the European services agitated for an increase in their emoluments owing to a fall in exchange, the Government did not hesitate to add, by a stroke of the pen, about Rs. $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores a year to the expenditure of the country by granting those services Exchange Compensation Allowance.

Increase Customs Tariff

Therefore, I say, if the Government is disposed to find the money required to meet its share of the cost of compulsory primary education, it will have no difficulty in doing so. An addition of a little over 2 per cent to the customs tariff will bring the country the required three crores of rupees. In the sixties, the customs duties stood at 10 per cent, and they may very well be raised now from 5 to 7 per cent to enable the Government to bear a part of the cost of compulsory primary education. In asking for this proportion of two-thirds from the State, we only ask for what the State is doing in the United Kingdom and France in the matter. In both these countries the Central Government bears today two-thirds of the cost of primary education.

Financial Inequalities

An Anglo-Indian newspaper of this city, *The Statesman*, has raised an objection to this proposal that as the Bill is only permissive and under it the whole country will not be simultaneously brought under the compulsory law, the proposal, if carried out, will result in great inequalities in the treatment of different parts of the country by the Government. With all deference to this authority, I must characterize this objection as a purely theoretical one. Are there not numerous inequalities today in the financial relations of the Government of India with different provinces? Some provinces contribute much more than others to the expenditure of the Government of India. Where is your financial equality in this? Again Calcutta gets a Rs.100 lakhs and Bombay only Rs. 50 lakhs from the Imperial Government for city improvement purposes; while other cities get nothing. Is this financially equal? In the construction of drainage and other works by local bodies where Government contributes a part of the capital cost as a grant-in-aid, a local body which undertakes such work gets a contribution from the Government, whereas those who do not undertake them get nothing. The grants made by the Government of India last March in aid of education and sanitation in different provinces were based on no principle of equality. European schools in the country receive from the Government grant-in-aid at higher rates than Indian schools. I have not heard of *The Statesman* complaining of these inequalities. I do not think it will do to be so theoretical in practical matters. Moreover, as the same terms will be equally open to every area, namely, that if it comes under the Bill and finds one-third of the cost, the State will find for it the remaining two-thirds, I can see no real inequality in the arrangement.

Unreasonable Demand

The chief objection to the financial provision of the Bill, however, has come from some of our own countrymen, who urge that the entire cost of compulsory education should be borne by the Central Government and that no part of it should be thrown on local bodies. Ladies and Gentlemen, I deem it my duty to say that this objection is most unreasonable. The practice of the civilized world on which we base ourselves in our demand for compulsion is wholly against this view. The two countries in which the Central Government bears the largest part of the cost of primary education are the United Kingdom and France, and in both these, as I have already pointed out, the local bodies have to find about one-third of the cost. It is true that in one particular part of the United Kingdom, namely, Ireland, as much as 90 per cent is borne by the State, but there are exceptional reasons for this. It has been for very many years the contention of Irishmen of all shades of opinion that under the Act of Union Ireland is treated with great financial injustice, the burdens placed upon her being heavier than they should be. This contention in practice is admitted by many English statesmen of both parties and for a long time Parliament has sought to give as a set-off specially advantageous terms in financial matters to Ireland. Moreover the money spent in Ireland and in Great Britain comes from the same exchequer and is disbursed by the same Government. It is therefore comparatively a minor matter how much is spent in England and Scotland and how much in Ireland. If the money for our education would have come from the English Exchequer we might have asked to be treated as Ireland is treated, but as it is the India Exchequer that will have to find the money, it will not be reasonable for us to take our stand on the solitary instance of Ireland.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the practice of most countries is in favour of a smaller proportion than two-thirds being borne by the State.Thus in Prussia, in the United States and Japan only about one-fifth of the entire cost of primary education is contributed by the State. In some other European countries the proportion is even smaller. In India itself at the present moment out of a total sum of Rs.80 lakhs (leaving the expenditure by Native States out of account) spent on the education of boys out of public funds the provincial revenues contribute only one-fourth while the Municipalities and District Boards contribute the remaining three-quarters. It is true that the actual contribution of the State in India is larger than one-fourth because part of the money found for education by the District Boards comes really out of special contributions made by the Government for the purpose. The real contribution, therefore, of the State to the cost of primary education in India may be put at between one-half and one-third and if this is so on a voluntary basis it is incomprehensible that anybody who claims to understand the question should urge that on a compulsory basis no part of the burden should fall on local bodies. I hope I have said enough to satisfy you that the financial part of our scheme is not unreasonable.

Education Rate — Purely Permissive Provision

I may, however, point out that the clause in the Bill about an education rate is purely permissive and that if any local body manages to find its share without extra taxation it is not bound to levy an additional rate. Then, again, it should be noted that so far as municipalities are concerned, the power to impose extra taxation is already possessed by them, so that this is not a new power which the Bill confers upon them. What is, however, new in the Bill is that it empowers local bodies to earmark the proceeds of any education rate that they may impose for educational purposes. This power they do not possess at present and it is in the interest of the people themselves that local bodies should possess this power, as instances have occurred in which the proceeds of taxation levied for one purpose have had to be diverted to other purposes under the pressure of the Local Governments.

As regards District Boards, they no doubt have no power at present to levy new taxation; so the Bill in empowering them to levy such taxation does confer on them a new power. But we should remember that it is most unlikely that the Bill will be brought into operation in District Board areas for several years to come, for very few District Boards are in a position to satisfy today the tests that are sure to be laid down by the Government if the Bill becomes law, which must be satisfied by a local body before it can take up the question of compulsion. Meanwhile we all expect that before long the constitution of District Boards will be changed under the recommendations of the Decentralization Commission,[1] the elected elements on those boards being placed in the majority.

Compulsion should mean Free Education

Closely connected with the question of the finance of the scheme was the question about making elementary education free. Theoretically it is quite a sound position that where education is made compulsory it should also be made free. I myself have urged this view more than once. But this is largely a question of funds. If we can make elementary education altogether free that of course will be the best course; but failing that, we should do the next best thing, namely, exempt those who are really very poor from payment of fees. I may mention that in England though education was made compulsory in 1870, it was not free till 1891. In Japan where compulsion was introduced in 1872

[1] This was a royal commission appointed in 1907 with Mr. C.E.H. Hobhouse as Chairman "to consider the problem of administrative and financial decentralization between the Central and Provincial Governments and local bodies."

The members of the Commission were : Sir Henry William Primrose, Sir Frederic Styles Philpin Lely, Sir Steyning William Edgerley, Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, Mr. William Stevenson Meyer and Mr. William Lionel Hichens. Sir Henry Primrose subsequently resigned, and Mr. C. E. H. Hobhouse, M. P., then Under Secretary of State for India, and Secretary to the Treasury at the time of the appointment, was appointed Chairman of the Commission.

instruction is not as yet gratuitous for the higher classes. In Holland and in one or two other countries education is compulsory but not free. If therefore on financial grounds we cannot make elementary education altogether free, the question is: what should be the limit of incomes for the present below which no fees should be charged. The Bill proposes a limit of Rs. 10 a month. It has been urged in several quarters that this limit is too low and it should be raised to at least Rs. 25 a month. I myself had proposed Rs. 25 as the limit of exemption last year and if it is found practicable to revert to the higher limit no one will be more sincerely pleased than myself.

Some Suggestions for Improvements

Gentlemen, I do not think I need say anything more today about the main provisions of the Bill. I have already stated that any suggestion that may be made to improve the Bill will receive my earnest and grateful consideration. Since coming to Calcutta, several such suggestions have been made to me and I think I should refer to them briefly on this occasion. I see from what has appeared in the columns of some papers, and notably in those of *The Indian Daily News*, a paper which has rendered yeoman's service to the cause of compulsory education which we sincerely appreciate and for which we are all deeply grateful, that there is some misapprehension in some quarters as regards these suggestions. Let me, therefore, say clearly at the outset that nothing inconsistent with the scheme of the Bill has either been proposed to me by any one or has been accepted by me. The suggestions which I have undertaken to bring up and support before the Select Committee, if the Bill reaches that stage, are four in number. The first is that in the case of District Boards, where there is no elected majority of members, before action is taken under the Bill the assent of a majority of those who are elected should be forthcoming. The second is that before extending the compulsory provisions in any area to girls the school attendance committee in charge of the compulsory education of boys in that area should approve of such extension. The third suggestion is one to which I have already referred, namely, that the rigour of the penal clauses should be softened by substituting a non-official committee for the magistrate to deal with cases under the Bill. And the last suggestion is that the limit of necessary exemption from payment of fees should be raised from Rs. 10 to Rs. 25 a month. I think all these suggestions are desirable improvements and none of them inconsistent with the scheme of the Bill.

In addition to these there is a proposal of the Indian Association that local bodies with a certain minimum income should be required by the State to devote a certain minimum percentage of it to primary education. Now, Gentlemen, I see no objection to this proposal myself personally but I am not quite sure if it can be brought into the Bill. The Bill is for securing compulsorily the attendance of children at school and I doubt if any provision which has reference to the spread of education on a voluntary basis can be made part of it. If however I find that there is a general demand for extending the scope of the Bill in this

manner and if it is found practicable to introduce the proposal into the Bill I shall certainly be glad to press the suggestion on the attention of the Select Committee.

Interested Opposition

Ladies and Gentlemen, I do not think I should detain you any longer. But I feel it my duty before resuming my seat to say a word about the attitude adopted in certain quarters towards this Bill. The Chairman has already referred in his own inimitable way to the resolution passed by the learned Pandits of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University on the subject of the Bill, and I do not think I need add anything more to it. I will, however, say this, what a pity it is, gentlemen, that learning is not always synonymous with wisdom. This attitude of members of the Syndicate who in the hope of getting more money for higher education in the future would like to prevent more money going to primary education in the present, is really even more reprehensible than that of certain officials who in the past have advocated a reduction of the expenditure on higher education to divert the money to primary education.

As regards the objection of the Cossipore-Chitpore Municipality that if education is made compulsory, the children of higher classes will have to sit with those of the depressed classes. Verily, Gentlemen, these people, as the chairman has observed, have been born too late. But when at the beginning of the twentieth century a number of gentlemen, sitting on a public body as representatives of the people, seriously express such a view it shows how much need there really is in the country, for the education not merely of the masses but also of the classes.

Then, Gentlemen, we understand that certain Zemindars — not all I am happy to say, and not even many I hope — have taken a stand against the Bill because they do not wish to contribute anything to the cost of education. Two reasons have been mentioned by these estimable gentlemen why they are unable to support the Bill. First, they say they have to spend so much money for the entertainment of the officials, contributions to memorials and so forth, that they find themselves simply bled and they cannot spare any money for mass education. And, secondly, they fear that with the spread of mass education, it will be difficult to get servants and other menial workers in the country. Now, Gentlemen, as regards the first reason, why, the remedy is in the hands of the Zemindars themselves. They need not spend money on official entertainments, nor even contribute to memorial funds, if they do not want to. And as regards the second, they might try to realize that even poor people are not necessarily born that they might remain poor, not born even to shampoo the legs or fill the "hukkas" of the zemindars.

Then, Gentlemen, we have seen in the papers that certain Anglo-Indian planters have expressed themselves against the Bill. Well, that need not distress us much. They are here to make their pile and leave the country when that is done. Their interest in child labour, in cheap labour is obvious; their interest in the

moral and material improvement of the people is not so obvious. I do not think we should attach much weight to the opposition of this class to the Bill. But then, Gentlemen, it is said that some Anglo-Indian officials are also expressing strong views against the measure on the ground that the spread of mass education will make the task of administration in the country more difficult. Now, if such sentiments are really entertained in the official quarters, or if expression is given to them, I have no hesitation in saying that these men do not represent the best mind of England. For what do such sentiments amount to? They mean that for the smooth working of the administration the people must be sunk in ignorance. Gentlemen, this is a terrible cost to ask of any people for any rule and I think we are justified in uttering the warning that unless care is taken not to hold or give expression to such sentiments, the better mind of India will be definitely and decisively alienated from those interests which are the true interests of both England and India.

Our Average Character and Capacity must be Raised

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have done. As I ventured to say last year in the Viceroy's Council, the question of mass education is now for us the question of questions and I think our countrymen must bend all their energies to the task of solving it satisfactorily if they wish to do their duty by their motherland. It is hopeless to expect that there can be any real amelioration of the condition of the mass of our people without a universal diffusion of education amongst us. I think every impartial person will admit that our poorer classes have not had fair play in the past. I sincerely trust that we shall soon come forward to help them that they will have better fair play in the future. This is work to which every consideration of justice and every consideration of humanity should impel us: it is also a work to which we should be urged by every dictate of true patriotism. You, Sir, in the remarks with which you opened the proceedings and which were, if I may say so, characterized by that ripe wisdom, and that passionate patriotism which your countrymen have learnt to associate with your utterances, have already alluded to this aspect of the question. How can we progress as a nation, how can any national progress that we achieve be real or enduring while 94 per cent of our people are sunk in ignorance, superstition, poverty and squalor? Gentlemen, we all love to talk of the desirability of Self-Government. I do not deprecate the talk, I indulge in it myself. But let us realize that Self-Government implies the strength to bear responsibilities, as it implies the opportunities to enjoy privileges. Let us clearly bear in mind that any progress that we make as a people must now be on a democratic basis, for our destinies are linked with those of a nation which can sympathize with and help forward our progress only on that basis. And for this purpose it is not a few towering individuals that will suffice, but the average strength of the mass of the people must be raised. So far as a few towering individuals go, I think we can hold our own, even now perhaps even more than hold our own, against most countries of the world. Here we have

in the Chair the greatest lawyer of our country. We can contemplate with pride the fact that we have amongst us a poet who would be regarded as great anywhere and two men of science entitled to similar honour. Our greatest living orator has been here today to take part in these proceedings. All these men can hold their own anywhere in the world. But they do not suffice to place us in the front rank of nations. That position depends on the average character and capacity of our people and it must be admitted with sorrow that that average is far below that of many countries. To strive to raise this average is then the chief task that really lies before us and it cannot be successfully accomplished without universal education in the land. If, therefore, we take up this duty of spreading education among the mass of our people with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of which we are capable, leading them thus from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge, from destitution to comfort, as sure as day follows night we shall march steadily onwards till we reach a place in the world worthy of our future, worthy of self-respecting civilized beings, a place in which there is room for the men and women of our country to grow to the full height of their stature, a place to muse on by day, to dream of by night and to work for both by day and night.

CONGRESS AND THE BILL

The session of the Indian National Congress which was held at Calcutta on December 26, 27 and 28, 1911 with Pandit Bishan Narayan Dar as President had before it the following resolution moved by Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer :

That this Congress accords its whole-hearted support to the principles of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale's Elementary Education Bill and expresses its earnest hope that the Government will be pleased to afford the necessary facilities for the further stages of this Bill in the Council.

Gokhale spoke on the resolution as follows :

I do not propose to occupy your attention for more than a few minutes, because I have spoken on the subject of this Bill repeatedly at many places in the country, and I really think that I should not have come today to speak again upon this proposition before you.

Mass Education at the Root of National Progress

Those of us who look upon mass education as the root of all true national progress and should therefore cherish the aspiration to see a system of universal education established in this country, have reason to regard, with the utmost gratification, the support which this measure has received in all parts of the country, and from all sections of the people. It is true that here and there a note of dissent has been heard, but that note has been drowned, has been literally drowned, in the chorus of whole-hearted and emphatic approval with which the Bill has been welcomed on all sides.

Fellow-delegates, this practical unanimity among us is, to my mind, a most hopeful and significant feature of the present situation, because it is, I think, the surest guarantee of the ultimate success of this movement. I think it is as true today as it ever was that when a whole people has made up its mind to have a reform, that reform cannot be withheld from the people very long. Of course, we are yet a good way off from success. I am quite sure that the struggle that lies before us is a long one, and probably a weary one, but this struggle can have only one end if we press forward unitedly with high hearts and with faith in our cause which no reverse can daunt.

Fundamental Principles : (1) *Resort to Compulsion*

Now in this struggle there are certain fundamental principles which we must hold up to ourselves as articles of our very creed. The first is that without some sort of compulsion it is impossible to have universal education in the land. This has been beyond question the experience of the whole civilized world and we must take that as our starting point. It is therefore that while I rejoice as much as any man can at the announcement made by the Government of India in regard

to the grant of Rs. 50 lakhs for Primary Education,[1] I still say that this grant does not meet our requirements, for what we require above everything else is education with the principle of compulsion in place of the system of voluntary education. For a day's delay in making a beginning in this matter puts off by a corresponding day the time when universal education shall be established in this land. This then is the first fundamental principle which we must hold to.

(2) *Gradual Compulsion*

The second fundamental principle is as regards how this compulsion is to be introduced. We feel that if compulsion is to be successfully introduced in order that it should have a reasonable prospect of success, it should be introduced only in those areas where there is a chance of its receiving a certain measure of public acceptance. This means that you should have compulsion for the present only in those areas where the benefits of primary education are already fairly appreciated. This means that there should be a certain proportion of children of school-going age already at school in such areas, so that you may have no fear that compulsion will not work with ease in these areas. It follows therefore that a fairly high standard of educational progress on the voluntary basis must be attained in that area before we apply compulsion to it. I believe that if the Bill is passed the Government will lay down a fairly high standard in this respect. This standard will be probably 33 or 35 or it may be 40 per cent, but I do not think it will be less than 33 per cent. This therefore means that compulsion cannot be introduced all over the country at once. It can only be applied in selected areas, in the more advanced areas. In that way compulsion can be introduced only in area after area as each area is ripe for it. This is the second fundamental principle; no compulsion is necessary all over the country at once, nor is it so contemplated in the Bill, but we want it to take effect area by area as each area is ripe for it.

(3) *Fund-Raising Authority*

The third fundamental principle is as regards the authority to raise the funds which is introduced in this Bill. Now, there are only two authorities which can do this, either the Central Government or the Local Government and the Local Bodies with the sanction of the Local Government. I for one would rejoice if the Central Government would take upon itself this responsibility of introducing this compulsion in certain selected areas. But, as a matter of practical politics, you may take it that in the near future, there is no chance of any such assistance forthcoming from the Government of India. If any one has any doubt upon this point let him turn to the opinions which the Local Governments have expressed on the Bill. The opposition which has been offered by officials of this class, — there are a few exceptions here and there, but I am now speaking of the whole class — the opposition which has been offered by the officials as a class is absolutely uncompromising. As I glanced through the opinions the other day, I could not help exclaiming that if this is in the green

[1] See foot-note on p. 131.

tree what may it be in the dry ! If this is the attitude towards this modest, cautious measure which is purely permissive and which throws the whole responsibility upon the Local Bodies, a measure which throws also a large part of the cost of the scheme upon Local Bodies. — I say that if this is the attitude of the official class in regard to a modest, cautious measure of this sort, how fierce, how violent would have been their opposition if we had asked for direct compulsion! However, as I have already said, as a matter of practical politics it is no use expecting that the State of its own accord will introduce compulsion.

There remains only the other authority, namely, the local bodies. As we have some voice in the Local Bodies, though they are not as perfect as we could wish, we must turn to these Local Bodies in order to have compulsion introduced into the system of education. These are the three fundamental principles in the Bill. Those who would like to wait till the various parts of the country are ripe for it are people who talk merely from an academical standard. Those who are filled with a burning and passionate affection for the future welfare of the country and desire to see that education should spread, cannot be content with such academic discussion. Therefore I say that the three fundamental principles of the Bill are first, the introduction of compulsion, second, the introduction of compulsion area by area and third, that the initiative be taken by Local Bodies. With regard to these three fundamental principles, there can be no omission or modification. The whole scheme stands together and we stand or fall by the scheme.

With regard to other matters connected with the Bill, these are questions of detail. There are some details which are important and there are some details which are not so important. With regard to these, I say that they are susceptible of modifications and improvements.

Financial Provision Clause

One of the details in the Bill is with regard to the financial provision contained in it. You have heard a good deal about the financial clause, but much of the argument advanced against it is based upon misapprehensions. You must realize that what the Bill does is merely to empower Local Bodies to levy a special education rate, if necessary. The District Boards and Municipal Councils have no power to levy an extra tax for a special purpose, but the Bill can confer power upon them to utilize the proceeds of an educational rate for educational purpose alone so that the Central Government should not come down upon Local Bodies and divert the proceeds to any other purpose. I do not think that there is anything to complain of in this. Moreover, remember that the whole of this is merely permissive. The Bill does not say that every Local Body shall or must do so, but if Local Bodies do so they must be enabled to bear their share of the cost of the scheme. I do not see how you can proceed unless you thus empower them. It is said that this will lead to financial inequalities as regards different areas. This is a question which has obtained some sort of plausibility on account of the support which it has received in certain quarters. I must, therefore, make a passing reference to it.

Taxation by Local Bodies

Now what is the objection? The objection is that if the scheme is adopted, Local Bodies may be led to levy taxation and raise money themselves. Now if Local Bodies are led to raise money, the Imperial or Local Governments will have to find a corresponding amount of money to help the Local Bodies. Thus some localities will receive assistance whereas other localities will not receive any. Mark what this argument means. This argument was first raised in this city by a certain Anglo-Indian paper: I have already dealt with this argument when I addressed a meeting at the Town Hall of this city last September, but I want to say a few more words upon it now. It means that because certain localities go in for compulsion and raise money, they will receive a grant-in-aid from the Government; therefore it is said to be a matter of legitimate complaint, because those who go in for compulsion will receive more than any other area.

Now let us examine how that bears on the existing state of things; even under the existing arrangements, the cost of primary education is divided between Local Bodies and Government. Taking one area with another you will find that one-third of the cost comes from the Central Government and two-thirds falls upon the Local Body. If local funds pay one-third and if the Bill is carried and the Central Government gives two-thirds, I do not see that any ground for grievance arises. Even now there is this sort of grievance because some localities are receiving a larger grant from the Government. Are you going to speak of it as a financial inequality? Such a complaint has not been heard till now. If you examine the practice of the civilized world you will find similar inequalities where compulsion is introduced. In England primary education existed upon a basis similar to the one which this Bill proposes. It was in 1876 that every Local Body was compelled to frame a rule under which attendance was necessary before they dared levy taxation. In Ireland even to the present day it rests upon a basis similar to what the Bill proposes. From 1892 to the present day, Ireland has gone in for compulsion area by area, and those areas which go in for compulsion have received assistance from the Government, and those that have not are receiving no assistance. This cry of financial injustice is the last cry that we should hear from our own countrymen. I put it in this way. We claim to voice the opinion of the diverse races of the country. What does it matter if one of the localities is educated first? Our interest is that the people of all parts of the country should be educated. If one part goes ahead of another let that be a cause for rejoicing to every one in the country and not a cause for complaint.

Distribution of Financial Burden

You will again find — I am speaking on the question of the distribution of the burden — you will find that the practice of the whole civilized world is against those who would like to throw the whole burden upon the Government. There

are those who say that primary education concerns the Supreme Government and therefore the cost of it should be borne by the Supreme Government. Those who say so do not show any acquaintance with the practice of the civilized world upon which the whole scheme is based. I have examined the practice with such materials as are available and I do not know of a single case where the whole of the cost of primary education is borne by the Government. This has one apparent exception, but this exception is more apparent than real. In Ireland the bulk of it comes from the Central Government Exchequer. It is contended that Ireland did not receive just financial treatment at the hands of Great Britain and therefore the authorities have treated Ireland with extra leniency with regard to the cost of primary education. But you must remember that the whole of this cost comes from one Exchequer, whether it is English or Scotch or Irish. If our educational expenditure came from the English Exchequer then it could be said that we were treated unjustly financially and we should have some sort of set-off in the matter. Therefore the example of Ireland does not apply to us.

The most favourable arrangements are made by England and France. In England two-thirds comes from the State and one-third is supplied by the locality for the expenditure on primary education. The proportion is somewhat less than this in France. In France, more than half is borne by the State. In Japan the proportion is one to five. In Prussia it is one to six and in America, one to seven. In Canada two-thirds falls on the Local Bodies and in some cases half. If we succeed in getting the Government to give us two-thirds of the expenditure on primary education, I do not think we shall have done badly.

There is only one more objection which has been urged by some of our friends. It has been urged by some of our friends that if this Bill is adopted, permission of the Local Government being sufficient to enable a Local Body to introduce compulsion, the Government of India will be free from its responsibility in regard to primary education. What does it mean? That means keeping primary education where it is; so far as Municipal areas are concerned the Government has no responsibility; the matter is left entirely to the Municipalities and the only thing where the Government exercises control is in regard to the expenditure of the Local Bodies, because it has otherwise to give an increased grant to Municipalites and District Boards. It is true that the Government is responsible, but the Bill provides that a certain standard should be reached before compulsion can be exercised, say 35 or 40 per cent. The standard is bound to be a high one; till that standard is reached in any Municipal or District Board areas the Government is not free from its responsibility. It will be some time before that standard is reached and by the time we shall have compulsion in many Municipalities, the people and our public men will become familiar with it when we have 35 or 40 per cent of the boys of school-going age in school. I think the fault will be our own if we cannot induce the District Boards to go in for compulsion. I think we shall have shown that we do not deserve what we are asking for. I do not wish to say anything more about this objection.

Free and Compulsory Education Essential

There are other objections of a different character that cannot be gone into in an assembly like this. One is about making education free. I think I may make a statement here upon that subject and say that in view of the expression of opinions that we have received from certain quarters, I think the best course will be to go in for free and compulsory education together. I may state that this was my own view for years and years and I would have urged in the Council that education should be free as well as compulsory; but when the Bill was framed last year, the resolution having been introduced the year before last, it was thought desirable, in order to conciliate official opposition, that education should be made free only to the poorer classes. The opinions that have been received from the officials show that they have not been conciliated by this compromise. As this compromise has failed to effect its purpose I do not see why we should not go in for free and compulsory education; I do not see why we should offer any room for dissension in our ranks. I now think that we should go in for free and compulsory education. This is a change which can easily be made in the Bill.

Another subject I wish to touch upon is the fear expressed by Mahomedans that this Bill may be the cause of forcing Mahomedan boys to learn languages which are not their own. I need hardly say that there was no such idea present in the minds of the framers of the Bill. If there is any room for such a fear I am quite willing to add a provision laying it down that where there are 20 or more boys speaking a particular vernacular, provision must be made for teaching them that vernacular. Where the number of boys speaking a language is less than that it will be left to the community to say which of the vernaculars should be taught. I think this should satisfy the Mahomedans and remove this objection.

Future of the Bill

Now the main difficulty is, what is to be the future of the Bill. It has been introduced into the Council and the next stage is to refer it to a Select Committee. If the Government so pleases, the Bill can go to a Select Committee, otherwise the Bill will be strangled at its birth. When the motion is made that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, seeing that the Local Governments have gone against it, I should not be surprised if the Government of India would feel that they were bound to reject the Bill. If they wish to do so, when the motion is made to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, they will find no difficulty because there is a standing official majority in the Council and this Bill may be rejected. But if this Bill is rejected, I earnestly hope that our countrymen will not be discouraged by such rejection. It will only mean that having advanced a considerable way, we have received what for the moment may be regarded as a temporary check. Of course, we realize that this campaign is bound to be a long and weary one, and one engagement lost does not mean that the whole campaign is gone. If a defeat like this comes about, I trust

that our countrymen will receive it with such a spirit and will exhibit such an attitude towards it that it will stimulate and redouble our efforts to conduct a vigorous agitation so that we may carry it with all our might and on main to the most distant parts of the country and be able to satisfy the Government that our demand is just and real. Public opinion is bound to be ranged on our side if we do this. I, for one, am confident that we shall succeed in lighting a torch in this country the light of which will fill and flood all the land, the rays of which will penetrate into every nook and corner, dispelling darkness, removing ignorance and combating superstition. I am quite sure that if we do our duty well in this matter the future will rest with us when this great work is accomplished. Then in that event we shall have laid the foundation of a noble democracy in this country in which tens and tens of millions of the countless number that have long been kept in utter darkness will come in the forefront and will be relieved from misery and despair. The task no doubt is a formidable one. Which one of us will hesitate to put his hand to it, when the reward is bound to be so great? Let us then, Ladies and Gentlemen, concentrate ourselves upon this question of questions. Let all of us, young and old, high and low, rich and poor, sinking all minor differences, press forward with a single end in view in the service of our motherland. Our hearts cheered with a great task before us, our eyes fixed on the shining vista, glimpses of which can be got even in these days, let us press forward; whether success comes or failure comes, let us press forward like men.

Fellow-delegates, I hope you will accord your cordial and hearty support to this resolution.

[The resolution was put and carried by acclamation]

ALEXANDRA INSTITUTION PRIZE-DISTRIBUTION

The prize-distribution ceremony of the Alexandra Girls' English Institution, Bombay, was held on Saturday, April 13, 1912 *at the Empire Theatre there. Gokhale presided on the occasion and delivered the following address :*

Girls' Education and National Progress

Taking the deep interest I do in female education, it was with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation I received to preside on this occasion. The excellent programme which the young pupils of the Alexandra Institution have so admirably gone through this evening; the bright, cheerful and disciplined appearance of the little ladies on the stage, showing how readily and intelligently they are applying and adapting themselves to the education this Institution affords them; the numerous well-selected and useful prizes which Lady Tata has just so gracefully delivered, prizes which commemorate the names of many of our Indian worthies who have from time to time shown their appreciation of the value and benefits of such education; and the large and brilliant throng of ladies and gentlemen, belonging to our various communities that I see before me, evidently pleased with, interested in and rightly appreciating the great and steady progress that female education is making amongst us, all these are most gratifying and encouraging signs that cannot fail to impress us with the important fact that the instruction of our girls on approved lines, not long ago so derided and discountenanced, has come to be happily accepted on all hands, as a need to be fully and effectively provided for and as an undeniable and pregnant factor in our national uplifting and progress.

Tribute to the Founder

The effective progress in education, and in female education particularly, marks the true advancement of a people or nation in the march of civilization. Axiomatic as this may sound to many of us at the present day, it nevertheless cannot be too often reiterated and insisted on in order to be rightly appreciated and realized, so that we may not stand still or lag behind in our endeavour to promote education amongst us in the widest possible manner. The present position of Indian women in society is an interesting problem in contemporary history. Those who have studied the history of the education of girls in this country need not be told what difficulties confronted the early pioneers of the movement. They were confronted with tremendous difficulties and prejudices, but they successfully fought ignorant opposition and overcame misrepresentations and calumny which they had to bear in the beginning. Those heroic souls, undaunted by calumny and undiscouraged by opposition, persisted in their herculean task: they fought the good fight and we are now realizing the full benefits of the labours of those early poineers of female education among whom no one occupied a higher or more honourable place

than the late Mr. Manockji Cursetjee, the founder of the Alexandra Institution. The remarkably enlightened views he entertained on the true position of Indian women and their enlightenment so far back as the thirties of the last century — although then and until much later such views were deemed rank heresy against hoary native orthodoxy — his boldness in steadily promulgating them and the manner in which he brought them to happy accomplishment fully entitle him to the unique honour of being the true apostle of female education amongst us. It is indeed very gratifying to us all that half a century after this great school was started, Mr. C. M. Cursetjee, the son of the founder, and other members of his family are taking such a keen and active interest in the welfare of the Institution, which has undoubtedly conferred great benefits on society by giving a vivid impetus to and by promoting the continued expansion of the education of our girls.

Jubilee of the Institution

I find that the Alexandra Institution will be completing the fiftieth year of its existence next year. I trust an event so interesting in our educational annals as this approaching Jubilee will be celebrated in some fitting, useful and impressive manner. When I look about me I am greatly struck with the remarkable position attained by the Parsees in our social life. In many respects the Parsees undoubtedly are the most advanced community in India and this is due to their wonderful adaptability to the changed and changing conditions that emanate from western methods which possess many merits. Whilst recognizing these facts, we cannot but be pleased to find that the Parsee example has aroused an emulous educational interest in the sister communities. This is indeed as it should be.

Girls' Education more necessary than Boys'

I have no desire to discuss any controversial point, at the same time I ask you to remember that if it is necessary and incumbent on us to give education to boys, it is even more so to impart a suitable education to girls. I am glad therefore to notice that this profound and fundamental truth is being realized in ampler and ampler measure on all sides of us. The aim and object of secondary and higher education is to fit the recipients for the duties, trials and responsibilities of life; but the wellworn fact must be recognized that the spheres of men and women being different, their preparation and equipment should be on distinct and different lines, to suit them in their different spheres. It is quite obvious therefore that a somewhat different curriculum is required for girls, who do not propose to go in for higher studies, whether academical or professional, an optional course being provided for the latter. In this view, I think, the managers of our schools should be free to make the experiments. The great, and I will say, the most important purpose of all education must be the acquisition of knowledge, character, accomplishment and utility and the single aim of all teaching must be to realize this. I am therefore glad to find that

the Directors of the Alexandra Institution are fully alive to the need to adopt the highest type of education as it is understood in all advanced countries, in their school. It is essential that Indian girls should be fully prepared and equipped for the efficient discharge of their duties in after-life, within the home sphere especially, and in this view which cannot be questioned, the training and instruction they are to receive must be of the best possible and most uptodate character.

Scope for Improving Girls' Education

This leads me to remark with wonder that though female education has made considerable advance amongst us, on the lines instituted by the Alexandra Institution, there is yet no school for our girls, of the well-equipped type of the latter day schools in the West. I mean no reflection on the several girls' schools which with the means available are ably conducted in this country, the Government having laid down a policy which excludes Indian children from State-aided European schools, except under certain peculiar and trying limitations. I do not find fault with the Government, for they and the managers of those schools are perhaps right in their desire to keep them purely European institutions; but it is really a question of our own self-respect and I deprecate the practice of sending Indian children to European schools under existing circumstances. Whilst we may congratulate ourselves on the fair and satisfactory condition we have attained to in female education and particularly as regards the hold it has obtained now on the popular mind, there is yet much to be done, much room for betterment, before we may be said to have arrived at that fullness of growth, both moral and intellectual, which could only be reached by persistent effort in improving our girls' schools on the best models such as are to be now so commonly found in England. The majority of us yet hardly realize the true value and potency of first-rate education in raising us in the scale of civilization; and constitutional apathy or positive disinclination still clogs and hinders our footsteps in the path of right and rational progress. It is therefore with very great pleasure that I learn from para 15 of the report just read before us, that certain enlightened Parsee gentlemen and the members of a body that has distinguished itself within a short period for its public-spirited philanthropy have a well thought out scheme on hand for establishing a first-class Girls' School on the latest English model, and the Alexandra Institution is to combine in the move and actively associate itself with this scheme. I have considered the details of this scheme which, I understand, is well advanced and near accomplishment, and I am heartily in sympathy with it. It is just such a teaching establishment as is here proposed that we in this country so very much stand in need of, worked on the latest methods of popular instruction and equipped by a first-rate staff of European teachers. This is a great desideratum. I trust therefore that this scheme will be soon brought to a head; in my opinion it is fraught with potentialities for the future and promise of benefits that are bound to be widespread and largely influential for good.

Scheme of Women's College

One of those benefits, as mentioned in the Report, is the likely evolution of a Women's College. There could be nothing, I need hardly say, so desirable as the early fruition of this reasoned and enlightened scheme. I feel sure that as soon as it takes effective shape, it will attract the support and countenance of Government and of all who are interested in the proper and steady expansion of female education. I can predict for it, as I cordially wish it, an early and enduring success.

FAREWELL TO FERGUSSON COLLEGE

On the eve of his retirement from the Deccan Education Society, the students of the Fergusson College presented Gokhale with a farewell address on Friday, the 19th *September* 1902. *He replied to the address in the following words :*

It is not possible for me to rise without deep emotion to reply to the address which has just been read, and to return thanks for the great, the overwhelming kindness with which you have treated me today. All parting in life is sad, but where the heart's deepest feelings are involved, the severance of old ties, and the necessity of saying good-bye, is about as trying an ordeal as any that a man can be called upon to go through. For eighteen years now, I have tried, according to the humble measure of my capacity, to give the best that was in me to this Society. Through good report and through evil report, through sunshine and through storm, it has been my endeavour to work for this institution with a single aim to its welfare, till at last it has become impossible for me to think of myself as apart from this College.

Separation a Great Wrench

And now, when the time for my withdrawing myself from all active work in this institution has come, my heart is naturally stirred by conflicting emotions, in which a feeling of intense thankfulness is mingled with a feeling of deep sadness. I feel thankful, profoundly thankful that it has pleased Providence to give it to me to discharge the solemn and onerous obligations of a vow taken so many years ago under the influence of youthful enthusiasm, and that no matter what happens to me in the future, I shall always be able to look back with pleasure and pride on this part of my career, and say to myself: "Thank God, I was permitted to fulfil my pledge." But, gentlemen, side by side with this feeling of thankfulness, there is a feeling of deep regret that my active work for this great institition is now at an end. You can easily understand what a wrench it must be to me to thus tear myself away from an institution to which my best work hitherto has been given, and which always has been first in my thoughts and affections, no matter in how many fields it was my lot to work.

Some of you here may perhaps be tempted to ask, as other friends have already asked — why do you retire from the College, if you feel the parting so keenly? My answer to this question is, that my decision has not been arrived at without a long and anxious examination of the whole position. In the first place my health is not now what it once was. During the last term, it was a matter of anxiety to me from week to week, and almost from day to day, how I should be able to finish my work without breaking down in the middle

of the term. Even then, as many of you are aware, I was not able to perform my duties in the College with that strict regularity, with which my collegues were performing theirs, and cannot help feeling that this is a very unsatisfactory position to be in, though never a word of complaint was heard from my colleagues. And I felt I had no right to put such a strain on their indulgence. You know the golden rule that when you sit down to a repast, it is always well to rise a little hungry or when you go to a friend's house, you should rather leave before your time than overstay his hospitality even by a day. I know my colleagues do not think that the illustrations apply. All the same, having worked for eighteen years more or less under high pressure I thought it was best for me to retire and leave the field to other workers.

Stormy and Uncertain Sea of Public Life

This, however, is not my sole reason for withdrawing from the College and some of you are apt to think that it is not a very conclusive one either and I will frankly tell you that another reason has influenced me in making up my mind, quite as much as this one. Years ago I remember to have read the story of a man, who lived by the side of the sea, who had a nice cottage and fields that yielded him their aboundance, and who was surrounded by a loving family. The world thought that he was very happy. But to him the sea had a strange fascination.When it lay gently, heaving like an infant asleep, it appealed to him; when it raged like an angry and roaring lion, it still appealed to him; till at last he could withstand the fatal fascination no longer. And so having disposed of everything and put his all into a boat, he launched it on the bosom of the sea. Twice was he beaten back by the waves — a warning he would not heed. He made a third attempt when the pitiless sea overwhelmed him. To a certain extent this seems to me to be my position today. Here I am with a settled position in this College. and having for my colleagues men with whom it is a pleasure and a privilege to work, and whose generosity in overlooking my many faults and magnifying any little services I may have rendered, has often touched me deeply. And yet, I am giving up all this to embark on the stormy and uncertain sea of public life. But I hear within me a voice which urges me to take this course, and I can only ask you to believe me when I say that it is purely from a sense of duty to the best interests of our country, that I am seeking this position of greater freedom, but not necessarily of less responsibility. Public life in this country has few rewards and many trials and discouragements. The prospect of work to be done is vast, and no one can say what is on the other side — how all this work may end.

But one thing is clear. Those who feel in the matter as I do must devote themselves to the work in a spirit of hope and faith and seek only the satisfaction which comes of all disinterested exertions. This is not the place where I may speak of my future hopes or lines of work. But one thing I know, and it is this. Whether I am permitted to press onwards and prove of some little

use to the public in another capacity, or whether I have to return a weather-beaten, tempest-tost, ship-wrecked mariner, my thoughts, as you have said in your address, will constantly be with this institution; and on the other hand, I shall always be sure of a warm and hospitable welcome within these walls whenever I choose to come here.

A Word to the Students

And, now, before concluding I wish to say one thing to the students of this College. I hope and trust that they will always be proud of this institution. I am about to leave you and so I can speak on this subject now with less reserve. I have been nearly all over India, and I have naturally felt special interest in the educational institutions of different places. Nowhere throughout the country is there an institution like this College of ours. There are other institutions better equipped, and also with older traditions; but the self-sacrifice of men like my friends, Mr. Paranjpye[1] and Mr. Rajwade,[2] surrounds this College with a halo of glory all its own. The principal moral interest of this institution is in the fact that it represents an idea and embodies an ideal. The idea is that Indians of the present day can bind themselves together, and putting aside all thoughts of worldly interests, work for a secular purpose with the zeal and enthusiasm which we generally find in the sphere of religion alone. The ideal is the ideal of self-help, that we may learn slowly but steadily to rely less and less upon others, however willing to bear our burdens, and more and more upon ourselves. I trust that you, the students of this College, will keep this character of the institution steadily before your eyes — that your devotion to it, your enthusiasm for it, will be commensurate with the nobility and importance of its work, that even when you feel disposed to criticize it, you will speak of it with that loving solicitude with which we mention a parent's faults and that you will always do what lies in your power to further its interests and enlarge the sphere of its usefulness and influence.

And now nothing remains for me but to say "good-bye." I know I have given but feeble utterance to the thoughts that are at this moment uppermost in my mind, but nothing that I can say will express them adequately. I wish you well — individually and collectively. In leaving you as I am doing, I feel I am leaving the best work of my life behind me. I trust I may meet some of you hereafter as co-workers in other fields, that we may also occasionally meet within the walls of this College. God bless this College and bless you all.

[1] Dr. Sir Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpye (1876-1966); Senior Wrangler (1899); Principal, Fergusson College (1902-24); member, Bombay Legislative Council (1913-20); Education Minister, Bombay (1921-23); President, Liberal Federation (1924); member, Taxation Inquiry Committee (1924-25); Minister of Excise, Bombay (1927); Member, India Council (1927-32); Vice-chancellor, Lucknow University (1932-38); High Commissioner in Australia (1944-47); Vice-chancellor, Poona University (1956-59).

[2] Prof. V. K. Rajwade ; Professor of English and Sanskrit in the Fergusson College; earlier, served as professor in the D. J. Sind College, Karachi; after retirement from the Fergusson College, served as Principal, M. T. B. Arts College, Surat.

ELEVATION OF DEPRESSED CLASSES

At the Dharwar Social Conference on April 27th, 1903, Gokhale moved the resolution on the elevation of the depressed classes. In doing so, he said :

The proposition which has been entrusted to me runs thus:

> That this Conference holds that the present degraded condition of the low castes is in itself and from the national point of view unsatisfactory, and is of opinion that every well-wisher of the country should consider it his duty to do all he can to raise their moral and social condition by trying to rouse self-respect in these classes and placing facilities for education and employment within their reach.

Grave Social Blot

Gentlemen, I hope I am not given at the use of unnecessarily strong language and yet I must say that this resolution is not as strongly worded as it should have been. The condition of the low castes — it is painful to call them low castes — is not only unsatisfactory as this resolution says — it is so deeply deplorable that it constitutes a grave blot on our social arrangements; and, further, the attitude of our educated men towards this class is profoundly painful and humiliating. I do not propose to deal with this subject as an antiquarian. I only want to make a few general observations from the standpoint of justice, humanity, and national self-interest.

I think all fairminded persons will have to admit that it is absolutely monstrous that a class of human beings, with bodies similar to our own, with brains that can think and with hearts that can feel, should be perpetually condemned to a low life of utter wretchedness, servitude and mental and moral degradation, and that permanent barriers should be placed in their way so that it should be impossible for them ever to overcome them and improve their lot. This is deeply revolting to our sense of justice. I believe one has only to put oneself mentally into their place to realize how grievous this injustice is. We may touch a cat, we may touch a dog, we may touch any other animal, but the touch of these human beings is pollution! And so complete is now the mental degradation of these people that they themselves see nothing in such treatment to resent, that they acquiesce in it as though nothing better than that was their due.

" *Turn the Searchlight Inwards* "

I remember a speech delivered seven or eight years ago by the late Mr. Ranade[1] in Bombay, under the auspices of the Hindu Union Club. That was a time when public feeling ran high in India on the subject of the treatment which our people were receiving in South Africa. Our friend, Mr. Gandhi, had come here on a brief visit from South Africa and he was telling us how our

[1] See foot-note 5 on p. 22.

people were treated in Natal and Cape Colony and the Transvaal — how they were not allowed to walk on foot-paths or travel in first class carriages on the railway, how they were not admitted into hotels and so forth. Public feeling, in consequence, was deeply stirred, and we all felt that it was a mockery that we should be called British subjects, when we were treated like this in Great Britain's colonies. Mr. Ranade felt this just as keenly as any one else. He had been a never-failing adviser of Mr. Gandhi, and had carried on a regular correspondence with him. But it was Mr. Ranade's peculiar greatness that he always utilized occasions of excitement to give a proper turn to the national mind and cultivate its sense of proportion. And so, when every one was expressing himself in indignant terms about the treatment which our countrymen were receiving in South Africa, Mr. Ranade came forward to ask if we had no sins of our own to answer for in that direction. I do not exactly remember the title of his address. I think it was "Turn The Search-light Inwards," or some such thing. But I remember that it was a great speech — one of the greatest that I have ever been privileged to hear. He began in characteristic fashion, expressing deep sympathy with the Indians in South Africa in the struggle they were manfully carrying on. He rejoiced that the people of India had awakened to a sense of the position of their countrymen abroad, and he felt convinced that this awakening was a sign of the fact that the dead bones in the valley were once again becoming instinct with life. But he proceeded to ask : Was this sympathy with the oppressed and down-trodden Indians to be confined to those of our countrymen only who had gone out of India? Or was it to be general and to be extended to all cases where there was oppression and injustice? It was easy, he said, to denounce foreigners, but those who did so were bound in common fairness to look into themselves and see if they were absolutely blameless in the matter. He then described the manner in which members of low caste were treated by our own community in different parts of India. It was a description, which filled the audience with feelings of deep shame and pain and indignation. And Mr. Ranade very justly asked whether it was for those who tolerated such disgraceful oppression and injustice in their own country to indulge in all that denunciation of the people of South Africa. This question, therefore, is in the first place a question of sheer justice.

Question of Humanity

Next, as I have already said, it is a question of humanity. It is sometimes urged that if we have our castes, the people in the West have their classes, and after all, there is not much difference between the two. A little reflection will, however, show that the analogy is quite fallacious. The classes of the West are a perfectly elastic institution, and not rigid or cast-iron like our castes. Mr. Chamberlain, who is the most masterful personage in the British Empire today, was at one time a shoemaker and then a screw-maker. Of course, he did not make shoes himself, but that was the trade by which he made money. Mr. Chamberlain today dines with Royalty, and mixes with the highest in the land on terms of absolute equality. Will a shoemaker ever be

able to rise in India in the social scale in a similar fashion, no matter how gifted by nature he might be ? A great writer has said that castes are eminently useful for the preservation of society, but that they are utterly unsuited for purposes of progress. And this, I think, is perfectly true. If you want to stand where you were a thousand years ago, the system of castes need not be modified in any material degree. If, however, you want to emerge out of the slough in which you have long remained sunk, it will not do for you to insist on a rigid adherence to caste. Modern civilization has accepted greater equality for all as its watchword, as against privilege and exclusiveness, which were the root-ideas of the old world. And the larger humanity of these days requires that we should acknowledge its claims by seeking the amelioration of the helpless condition of our downtrodden countrymen.

Question of National Self-Respect

Finally, gentlemen, this is a question of National Self-interest. How can we possibly realize our national aspirations, how can our country ever hope to take her place among the nations of the world, if we allow large numbers of our countrymen to remain sunk in ignorance, barbarism, and degradation? Unless these men are gradually raised to a higher level, morally and intellectually, how can they possibly understand our thoughts or share our hopes or co-operate with us in our efforts? Can you not realize that so far as the work of national elevation is concerned, the energy, which these classes might be expected to represent, is simply unvailable to us? I understand that that great thinker and observer — Swami Vivekananda — held this view very strongly. I think that there is not much hope for us as a nation unless the help of all classes, including those that are known as low castes, is forthcoming for the work that lies before us. Moreover, is it, I may ask, consistent with our own self-respect that these men should be kept out of our houses and shut out from all social intercourse as long as they remain within the pale of Hinduism, whereas the moment they put on a coat and a hat and a pair of trousers and call themselves Christians, we are prepared to shake hands with them and look upon them as quite respectable? No sensible man will say that this is a satisfactory state of things. Of course, no one expects that these classes will be lifted up at once morally and intellectually to a position of equality with their more favoured countrymen.

Appeal to the Younger Generation

This work is bound to be slow and can only be achieved by strenuous exertions for giving them education and finding for them honourable employment in life. And, gentlemen, it seems to me that, in the present state of India, no work can be higher or holier than this. I think if there is one question of social reform more than another that should stir the enthusiasm of our educated young men and inspire them with an unselfish purpose, it is this question of the degraded condition of our low castes. Cannot a few men — five per cent, four per cent, three, two, even one per cent — of the hundreds and hundreds of graduates that the University turns out every year, take it upon themselves

to dedicate their lives to this sacred work of the elevation of low castes? My appeal is not to the old or the middle-aged — the grooves of their lives are fixed — but I think I may well address such an appeal to the young members of our community—to those who have not yet decided upon their future course and who entertain the noble aspiration of devoting to a worthy cause the education which they have received. What the country needs most at the present moment is a spirit of self-sacrifice on the part of our educated young men, and they may take it from me that they cannot spend their lives in a better cause than raising the moral and intellectual level of these unhappy low castes and promoting their general well-being.

SPECIAL MARRIAGE BILL

On Wednesday, 1st March 1911, *Mr. Bhupendranath Basu*[1] *moved, in the Imperial Legislative Council, for leave to introduce his Bill to amend the Special Marriage Act*, 1872. *The motion was put and agreed to. And the Bill together with the Statement of Objects and Reasons was in due course published in the Gazette of India and in local official Gazettes. He moved, on Monday, 26th February* 1912, *that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. In supporting the motion, Gokhale spoke as follows :*

Sir, after the speeches of the Hon'ble the Home member[2] and the Hon'ble the Law Member,[3] it is clear that there is no chance of this motion being adopted by the Council. In spite of this, however, I would like to say a word, by way of appeal, to the Government to ask them to reconsider their position even at this last moment and let the Bill proceed to the proposed Select Committee. It is quite true that a very large majority of our countrymen are strongly against this Bill. At the same time even the strongest opponent of the Bill cannot deny that there is a very influential and enlightened minority in support of the Bill. That being so, I think it is due to the supporters of this Bill, to their position in the country and to the interests of Indian progress which they represent, that the Government should allow the Bill to be examined by a Select Committee; because it is only a Select Committee that can properly examine a measure of this kind.

Plea for Reference to Select Committee

Personally, Sir, I am strongly in favour of the Bill. It is quite true, as we have seen from opinions expressed both in this Council and outside, that the Bill represents ideas which are in advance of the views of the bulk of the Hindu and Muhammadan communities today; but I am quite sure that with the spread of higher education among Indian women, with late marriages coming more and more into vogue — and late marriages must lead to choice marriages, *i.e.* to free choice by the marrying parties — with these things coming, with the dignity of individual freedom realized better and better, and last, but not least, with the steady fusion of different creeds and different races, which is bound to take place under the stress of our growing nationality, to which my Hon'ble friend Mr. Ali Imam referred — a reference which seems to have been misunderstood by my Hon'ble friend Mr. Mudholkar[4] — I say, under all these influences, the day cannot be far distant when a measure like

[1] See foot-note on p. 5 111.

[2] Sir Reginald Craddock, i. c. s. served in the Central Provinces; Commissioner (1901-02); Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces (1907-11); member, Viceroy's executive council (1912-17); Lt.-Governor, Burma (1917); member, Royal Commission on Superior Civil Services in India.

[3] See foot-note 1 on p. 111.

[4] See foot-note 9 on p. 111.

the one before us will find its way to the Statute-book. And, Sir, when that day comes, the labours of my Hon'ble friend will be duly recognized. For the present, however, we must admit that owing to the apprehensions of orthodox people that have been aroused and the attitude which the Government have adopted in this matter, the passing of this Bill becomes practically an impossibility. But that does not mean that the opportunity which has now arisen to examine the question of amending the law of 1872 need be thrown away altogether. Sir, there is a strong feeling in some quarters that this opportunity may be utilized at least to give relief to certain sections of the Indian community — certain denominations — who have a real and reasonable grievance under the existing law, without wounding the susceptibilities of other sections. To mention only one suggestion out of several, if the Bill were so amended that instead of omitting the present negative declaration of the Act of 1872, that declaration was retained with an alternative positive declaration added, saying that a person belonged to one of the Churches enumerated, that, I think, would meet the requirements of the Brahmo community and I do not think that there would be any objection to this on the part of even the most orthodox people. Under such a provision, a person would be able to come under the Act either by declaring that he or she did not profess this, that, or a third faith, or by saying that he or she was a member of this or that Samaj or Church. I gather from what the Hon'ble Maharaja of Burdwan[1] and the Hon'ble Mr. Malaviya[2] said today that they would have no objection to such an amendment. If the Select Committee is disposed to examine the question in this spirit and find some such way out of the difficulty, I do not see why that should not be allowed by the Council. I do not see, Sir, why the whole of the Bill should be lost altogether — why we should not try to save as much of it as we can.

Official Majority — a Safeguard

One more thing. My Hon'ble friend has proposed a Select Committee on which official Members are in a majority. The question will therefore remain under the control of the Government even in Select Committee. If my Hon'ble friend, the mover of the Bill, takes at any stage a line in the Committee which the Government are unable to approve, they can prevent a favourable report being made to the Council, and even at the last moment they can throw out the Bill in Council. I would therefore make a strong appeal to the Government to reconsider their decision and allow this Bill to go to the Select Committee.
[On a division, 11 voted for the motion and 43 against. So the motion was negatived.]

[1] See foot-note on p. 79.

[2] See foot-note 6 on p. 111.

PART III

PERSONAL TRIBUTES

LORD NORTHBROOK[1]

At the National Congress held at Lahore with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji,[2] M. P., as President, Gokhale moved on December 30, 1893, the resolution thanking Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced. In doing so, he said :

The resolution I have to propose is as follows :

That this Congress tenders its most sincere thanks to Lord Northbrook for his powerful advocacy of India's claim to have her burden of Home Charges reduced, and respectfully entreats the House of Commons to appoint at an early date a Committee of their Honourable House to arrive at some equitable settlement of the matter.

Many of you may be aware that in the month of May last a very important debate on this question took place in the House of Lords on a motion brought forward by Lord Northbrook and in the course of that debate many serious and damaging statements were made by responsible statesmen on both sides; so much, indeed, that if ever the Government of the country were put on its trial I should be content to frame the indictment on those admissions. It was admitted during that debate that year after year, in spite of the protests from Secretaries of State and Viceroys of India, burdens were thrown on the Indian exchequer, which properly belonged to England. It was admitted by Lord Kimberly[3] that this was because the India Office was powerless against the combined forces of the Treasury and the War Office.

Another important statement was made by the Duke of Argyll.[4] His Grace said in a low tone, possibly because he wanted to say it in a whisper, that the people of the country should not hesitate in the matter and that the grievance should be remedied before the impression got abroad in India that there was such a grievance. But the Duke of Argyll does not seem to know that from this very Congress platform, Mr. Wacha[5] has year after year protested against the Home Charges and that long before this Mr. Power, Mr. Nowrojee Furdonjee[6] and other gentlemen raised their powerful voices against

[1] LORD NORTHBROOK (1826-1904); Civil Lord of the Admiralty (1857); Under-Secretary for India (1859); Secretary to the Admiralty (1866); Viceroy of India (1872-76).

[2] See foot-note 3 on p. 173.

[3] EARL OF KIMBERLY (1826-1902); Under-Secretary for India (1864); Colonial Secretary (1870 and 1880); thrice Secretary of State for India (1882-85, 1886, 1892-94).

[4] DUKE OF ARGYLL (1823-1900); Secretary of State for India (1868-74); when in Opposition he wrote, and spoke strongly against the forward Afghan policy of the Conservative Government. Author of *India under Dalhousie and Canning* (1865).

[5] See foot-note 5 on p. 173.

[6] NOWROZJEE FURDONJEE (1817-1885); Assistant Professor, Elphinstone Institution, Bombay; was chiefly instrumental in establishing the first girls' school, native library, literary society, political association, etc. in Bombay; Native Secretary and Translator to Sir Alexander Burnes at Kabul (1836); Interpreter, Bombay High Court (1845-1864); gave evidence before the House of Commons Select Committee appointed " to inquire into the Finance and Financial Administration of India " (1871-73). The Right Hon. Acton Smee Ayrton was Chairman.

this unjust burden. If you look at the Home Charges, particularly during the last thirty years, you will see that the figures have increased from £7,000,000 to £16,000,000, and if you calculate the value in rupees, they have risen from seven to twenty or twenty-six crores. At the same time, it is only fair to state that a large part of this increase is of such a nature that we cannot claim any sort of redress from the House of Commons in regard to it, because there have been loans taken by the Government of India in England and the interest on these must be paid. There are particularly two items in regard to which we have a right to ask for redress and these are the expenditure incurred in connection with the India Office and that in connection with the Indian Army in England. I will pass over the expenditure in connection with the India Office because although that Office pays, and liberally pays, the respectable and at the same time useless and mischievous old gentlemen, it is comparatively a small matter and may be left for the present.

Unjust Burden of Home Military Charges

In regard to the Home Military Charges, if you look at the figures for the last thirty years you will find they have risen from £2,000,000 to over £5,000,000 or if you calculate the value in rupees, it is a rise from two crores to eight crores or just fourfold. The Recruiting Charges are a heavy item. The men cost the War Office £19 per head, but India is charged £105 a man. It has been said by no less an authority than Sir Charles Dilke[1] that the whole sum which is about seventy-five lakhs of rupees may be saved if the Indian Government are allowed a free hand and have the right to recruit for themselves. The Stores Charges is a varying quantity. It is never less than about fifty lakhs of rupees and last year it was nearly a crore. It is very discreditable that the War Office charges are not merely an extravagant price but it tries to make a profit out of the contracts. As to the Indian trooping services, there are a certain number of ships built at India's expense to bring the soldiers here and to take them back again and the expenditure on them is very great. Now my point is that the British troops might be brought and taken away like private passengers in other steamers instead of these big ships, which are five months in the year lying idle and mean a very large and useless expenditure.

Another item is the payment made to the War Office for pensions to the troops which is about a third of a million. Last year Lord Northbrook raised his powerful voice against it and showed that during the last twenty years England had taken more than four millions beyond what it was entitled to take. There are other items which might be mentioned, but I may say that any one who closely studies the subject will arrive at the conclusion that about a million

[1] Sir CHARLES DILKE (1843-1911); proprietor of the *Arthenaeum* and part proprietor of the *Gardners' Chronicle*; M. P. (1868, 1874-80); Chairman, Royal Commission for negotiation of a commercial treaty with France (1881-82); President, Local Government Board (1882); M. P. (1868, 1874-80 and 1885, 1892-1911).

pounds orone and a half crores of rupees per annum can be saved to the Indian Treasury if there is a more reasonable and more equitable adjustment of the charges.

Partnership between the Dwarf and the Giant

There is a sort of partnership between India and England which strongly reminds me of the dwarf and the giant in Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield.* There have been occasions on which England borrowed troops from India, and there have also been occasions when India had to borrow troops from England. Whenever England borrowed troops she forgot to pay, but when India borrowed them she had to pay all the ordinary and the extraordinary expenses; and in some cases even the charges for recruiting the soldiers had been extorted from India. In regard to all these matters it is but just and right that we should complain and Lord Northbrook is entitled to our best thanks for his powerful services. In the first place, the resolution proposes to express our best thanks to him for his powerful advocacy of India's just claims and in the second place, it entreats the House of Commons that it will listen to us in an attentive manner and appoint a committee in order to consider the whole question so that ultimately a fair adjustment of the charges may be arrived at.

With these remarks, I leave the resolution before you for your unanimous adoption.

A. O. HUME[1]

The following is an indirect version of a speech delivered by Gokhale at a public meeting held in 1894 *in Poona for bidding farewell to Mr. A. O. Hume :*

Gokhale began by saying that it was a high privilege to be asked to offer welcome to so eminent a benefactor of India as Mr. Hume, and the welcome that he offered was offered not only on behalf of the people of Poona, but in the name of the entire Deccan, representatives from the various districts of which had thought it their duty to be present on that occasion. It was impossible for him to adequately express how deeply grateful they all felt to Mr. Hume for the immense sacrifice of personal comfort and convenience at which he had snatched, in his indifferent state of health and after a very fatiguing journey, a few hours to gratify their dearly cherished wishes and honour their city with that visit. The speaker, however, wanted to say that no one was surprised at the trouble Mr. Hume had taken; because his conduct in that matter was only in keeping with that absolute disregard of self which had all along been the guiding principle of his life. Gokhale was aware that nothing was more repugnant to Mr. Hume than any demonstration or even an expression of the feelings by which he was regarded by the people of the country; but he would ask him to remember that, when the gratitude of the heart was deep and strong, it gave an irresistible impulse to the tongue to speak. And if, therefore, in what little he intended to say, he appeared not to act quite in accordance with Mr. Hume's wishes, he trusted Mr. Hume would excuse him on the ground that what he wanted to say came straight from the heart and there was no art about it.

Any one who compared the India of today with what she was seven or eight years ago, would at once realize the enormous nature of the services rendered by Mr. Hume to the country. All that the Indian National Congress had done during the seven years of its existence was principally Mr. Hume's work. What it was exactly that the Congress had achieved it was unnecessary for the speaker to state at length, first, because that question had been repeatedly dealt with in an infinitely abler and more eloquent manner than any he could ever hope to attempt, by successive Presidents of past Congresses, and secondly, to speak of that in the presence of the Father of the National Congress was something like holding up a candle-light to the face of the eternal and glorious source of all light.

Fruits of Congress Work

Gokhale, however, wanted briefly to refer to four results which were prin-

[1] A. O. HUME (1829-1912); Ornithologist and father of the Indian National Congress (1885); helped in bringing out a vernacular paper *Janamitra* (1859); prepared schemes of redemption of agricultural indebtedness and village panchayats; Secretary, Government of India, Revenue and Agriculture Department; declined offer of Lieutenant-Governorship; retired (1882); secretary, Indian National Congress for many years.

cipally due to the Congress. First, the Congress had welded together all the influences in the country which were struggling, scattered, to create throughout India a sense of common nationality. The influences had not been created by the Congress. They had come into existence along with British rule in this country, and they had been tenderly nursed by the wise and large-hearted policy of successive generations of statesmen, and notably that of the Marquis of Ripon[1]. But although the influences were already in existence, it was reserved for the Congress to unite them together and produce a result owing to which the heart of Bombay throbbed today in unison with that of Bengal or Madras in matters of national welfare.

The Congress had also made public opinion in India more enlightened and more influential. The movement had spread far and wide in the land a considerable knowledge of the main political questions, and the result was that public opinion was better informed now than before. It also carried more weight with Government and no more eloquent testimony on the point was required than the fact that Lord Lansdowne[2] himself had recognized in the Congress the Liberal party of India. Then owing to the Congress movement, the main political questions of the country were advancing, some slowly, some rapidly, but all of them advancing towards a state of satisfactory solution. And lastly, the Congress supplied a ready machinery to those English politicians who realized their vast responsibilities in connection with India and who were anxious to do their duty by the people of this country. One peculiarly glorious circumstance connected with British rule, according to Gokhale, was that this country had never lacked distinguished, disinterested advocates of her cause in England. The speaker mentioned the services rendered by Edmund Burke to this country a century ago, and said that it was for such services that the names of Bright[3] and Fawcett[4] — and, last but not least, Bradlaugh[5] — had become house

[1] See foot-note on p. 6. [2] See foot-note on p. 164.

[3] JOHN BRIGHT (1811-1889); M. P. (1843, 1847,1852, 1857-1885); paid special attention to India; opposed renewal of charter of the East India Company (1853); spoke strongly in favour of making the Government of India a department of the British Government with a Minister of State and a Council; advocate of a policy of decentralization in relation to India; urged reduction of military expenditure (1859).

[4] HENRY FAWCETT (1833-1884); Professor of Political Economy in the University of Cambridge and author of a *Manual of Political Economy*.

[5] CHARLES BRADLAUGH (1833-1891); freethought advocate; carried on freethought propaganda under the name iconoclast; proprietor, *National Reformer*, from 1862 : member, parliamentary reform league (1866); elected to Parliament (1880); was refused right to affirm instead of swearing on Bible; unseated; re-elected (1881); was ejected from House of Commons by force; expelled (1882); re-elected; excluded (1883); re-elected (1884); excluded (1885); again elected (1885); and allowed to take his seat (1886), remaining Member of Parliament till his death; engaged in several lawsuits to maintain freedom of press; attended the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress (1889).

hold words with the people. The four results mentioned by the speaker were the work of the Congress and as such they were principally the work of Mr. Hume's hands; and surely it was not given to a single individual to achieve more.

Tribute to Mr. Hume

Mr. Hume's path, again, had not been smooth. He had to work amidst the repeated misunderstandings of well-meaning friends and the unscrupulous attacks of determined enemies. But as though those difficulties had not been sufficient, it had pleased Providence to send him more trying ordeals. In the space of the past two years a domestic affliction, sad and heavy at all times, but peculiarly sad and heavy in old age when the mind of man is rather conservative in its attachments, had rendered his home desolate and his hearth cheerless; while his public life was embittered by the sad and untimely loss of his best and most eminent co-worker in England and his most beloved and trusted collaborator in India. The difficulties and misfortunes mentioned by the speaker were more than sufficient to break the spirit of most men; but Mr. Hume continued, in spite of them all, to walk firmly and unshaken in the path of duty chosen by himself. When the people of India contemplated all that, naturally their hearts overflowed with feelings of gratitude and admiration and veneration and love. For Mr. Hume had enabled India, for the first time in her history, to breathe and feel like one nation by bringing together men of enlightenment and patriotism from the various parts of the country to work in a common cause. He had tried to steady their faltering footsteps and turn their weak accents into firm speech. He had toiled for them in the midst of calumny and contumely of every kind, amidst the wicked attacks of avowed enemies and the more wicked stabs of false friends. For their sake he had denied himself the comforts which old age demanded and to their service he had devoted his time, his energy, his talents, his purse, his all. Above all, he had set them a high and glorious example as to how they should labour for the regeneration of their motherland. Such had been Mr. Hume's services and they were above any memorial or reward. Rather their own reward they were, and in themselves they constituted a memorial more lasting than brass and more enduring than marble.

In conclusion, Gokhale expressed the great regret of all assembled there that Mr. Hume was not coming out for the next Congress. The melancholy circumstances of Pandit Ajudiya Nath's[1] death rendered it, in the speaker's opinion, necessary that the next Congress should have the guidance of Mr. Hume's hand. However, as Mr. Hume's decision had been already finally made in the matter, they had to bow to it as meant for the best. Gokhale was also very sorry

[1] Ajudhia Nath (1840-1892); Law Professor of Agra (1869); founder, Victoria High School, Agra; started an English daily *Indian Herald* (1879); started another organ *Indian Union* (1890); member, senates of the Calcutta and Allahabad Universities; Chairman, reception committee, Allahabad Congress (1888); general secretary, Indian National Congress (1889-92); first Indian member, N.W.P. Legislative Council (1886-1890).

that Mr. Hume's stay in Poona should have been so extremely short that they had to blend their welcome and their farewell together. But as even in that matter Mr. Hume had already made final arrangements, nothing remained for him but to wish Mr. Hume and his daughter a happy voyage and a very happy time in England and to bid him farewell in the words which he himself had used in the case of Lord Ripon[1]:

> Farewell, farewell, a nation's love
> A nation's prayers watch o'er thee
> Nor space nor time can part thee e'er
> From hearts that here adore thee.

[1] See foot-note on p. 6.

SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA[1]

At the Eighth Provincial Conference held at Belgaum on the 4th May 1895, it was resolved

that this Conference desires to place on record its high appreciation of the masterly services rendered to the country by the Hon. Mr. P. M. Mehta in the last session of the Supreme Council at great personal inconvenience, and it authorizes the President to draw up and present on its behalf an address to Mr. Mehta embodying this expression of opinion, at such time and place as may be determined hereafter in consultation with the honourable gentleman.

This resolution was proposed by Gokhale in the following speech :

The resolution which I have to propose today for your adoption is one which it is not only a pleasure but a privilege to move, and I feel sure, when it is put to you from the chair, you will carry it with unanimity and enthusiasm. Gentlemen, the brilliant abilities of Mr. Mehta and the great services which he has rendered, not only to our Presidency but to the country at large, during a public life of nearly a quarter of a century, are now so well known that his name has really and truly become a household word with us. The grasp and vigour of Mr. Mehta's intellect, his wide culture, and his fearless independence coupled with dignity and judgement have won for him today a most commanding position in the public life of the Presidency, and a position of singular eminence in the public life of Bombay. Gentlemen, when a person has attained so prominent a position, it is inevitable that the fierce light of comparisons, to vary the beautiful expression of the late Laureate, should beat on him. And I think no person has suffered less than Mr. Mehta by these comparisons. A friend of mine in Bombay, a shrewd observer of men and things, once said in speaking of Mr. Telang[2] and Mr. Mehta and Mr. Ranade[3], that Mr. Telang was always lucid and cultured, Mr. Mehta vigorous and brilliant, and Mr. Ranade profound and original. I think, gentlemen, you will agree that there is much in that observation. At the same time it must be said that, though some men think that Mr. Mehta's particular qualities are vigour of intellect and brilliancy it does not follow that he is in any way deficient in the other qualities. To my mind it has always appeared that Mr. Mehta, to a great extent, is a happy combination of the independence and strength of character of the late Mr. Mandlik[4], the lucidity and culture of Mr. Telang, and the originality and wide grasp of Mr. Ranade. And these qualities which have always shone well, never shone more brilliantly or to greater advantage than in the work done for us by Mr. Mehta in the last session of the Supreme Legislative Council.

[1] See foot-note 6 on p. 22.

[2] See foot-note 4 on p. 22.

[3] See foot-note 5 on p. 22.

[4] See foot-note 4 on p. 173.

Able and Skilful Debater

Gentlemen, I do not mean to recount in any detail the services rendered by Mr. Mehta during that session. In the first place, they are so fresh in our memory, and secondly, they were only the other day recapitulated so well by speaker after speaker at a public meeting in Bombay. I will, however, say this, that in those discussions in the Council Mr. Mehta showed himself to be a match for the ablest of his Anglo-Indian opponents and a match for them in their several elements. Those who have read those discussions will agree with me that Mr. Mehta's contributions uniformly displayed the highest ability and skill as a debater, and that his speech on the Budget was calculated to raise even his reputation for grasp of principles and mastery of details. Member after member on the Government side rose on that occasion to demolish Mr. Mehta. Sir Charles Elliott[1], the Military Member,[2] Sir Antony MacDonnell[3] and Sir James Westland,[4] each in his turn, attacked Mr. Mehta, thereby only showing how strong was the case made out by Mr. Mehta in the opinion of Government themselves. The attempt of Sir James Westland to browbeat Mr. Mehta only recoiled on himself. He lost his temper when Mr. Mehta spoke in his vigorous manner of the defects of the Civil Service, and complained bitterly that Mr. Mehta was introducing a new spirit in the discussions in the Legislative Council, and ended by accusing him of uttering a calumny. When, however, the speeches of the two were published, the public was in a position to judge who it was that had uttered a calumny. The remarkable coolness with which Mr. Mehta behaved on the occasion elicited the admiration of the Calcutta *Statesman*. Throughout Mr. Mehta showed himself, as I have already said, to be a match for his opponents on their own ground, and, as the correspondent of a Madras paper well expressed it, he returned argument for argument, invective for invective, banter for banter and ridicule for ridicule. Gentlemen, we are proud that our representative should have achieved so much glory. We are proud that even our friends in Calcutta thought his services to be so signal

[1] Sir CHARLES ELLIOTT, I. C. S. (1835-1911); Famine Commissioner, Mysore (1877); Census Commissioner (1880); Chief Commissioner, Assam (1881); President, committee for retrenchment in public expenditure (1886); member, Viceroy's executive council (1887-90); Lt.-Governor, Bengal (1890-95).

[2] General SIR HENRY BRACKENBURY (1837-1914); Military Member, Governor-General's executive council (1891-96).

[3] ANTONY PATRICK MACDONNELL (later Lord MACDONNELL (1844-1925); acting Chief Commissioner, Burma (1889); Chief Commissioner, C. P. (1890); member, Viceroy's executive council; Lt.-Governor, U. P. (1895-1901); Chairman, Indian Famine Commission (1901); member, Council of India (1903).

[4] SIR JAMES WESTLAND, I. C. S. (1842-1903); Accountant-General, C. P. and Bengal (1873-80); Chief Commissioner, Assam (1889); Finance Member, Government of India (1893-99).

that, under the leadership of Mr.W.C. Bonnerjee[1] they presented a public address to Mr. Mehta to express their sense of gratitude although they had their own member in the Council. Those of us who know Mr. Mehta know that he cannot care much for these compliments. We are aware that services such as he has rendered are their own reward. But we owe to ourselves a duty in the matter, and we shall best perform that duty by authorizing our President to convey the expression of our gratitude to Mr. Mehta in the manner suggested in this resolution.

[1] W. C. BONNERJEE, Barrister-at-Law; joined the Calcutta High Court Bar (1868); Standing Counsel to Government (1882, 1884, 1886-87); presided over the first Indian National Congress, Bombay (1885); member, Bengal Legislative Council (1893).

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE

Ranade Memorial Meeting Address

The following speech on Ranade was delivered by Gokhale at the memorial meeting held in Bombay on the 9th July 1901. *The meeting was presided over by Lord Northcote.*[1]

I think, my Lord, if ever an Indian in these days deserved to have a memorial voted to him by his loving, grateful, and sorrow-stricken countrymen, unquestionably that Indian was the late Mr. Ranade. For forty years, Mr. Ranade laboured for us, not in one field; but in nearly all fields of public activity, with matchless devotion and steadfastness and with a faith that continued undimmed amidst the severest discouragements. The work that he has done for us, the ideals of individual and collective life that he has placed before us, and the high example that he has given us of a life spent nobly in the service of the country these will ever constitute one of the most precious possessions of my countrymen. It is true that much of Mr. Ranade's work was rendered possible by the fact that Nature had bestowed on him — and that with no niggardly hand — intellectual gifts of the highest order; but these gifts by themselves had not availed much, if they had not been joined with patient and prodigious industry, a severe discipline, and those great moral qualities, which even singly would have entitled their possessor to great honour among his fellowmen, and which were combined in Mr. Ranade in so equable and harmonious a manner.

This resolution says that subscriptions should be invited from all classes in the country to raise a suitable memorial to Mr. Ranade. I think that that is an eminently proper proposal. For no man was more free from race or class prejudices, or more ready to recognize the good points of other communities and co-operate with them for common ends than Mr. Ranade. Indeed, one of the dearest dreams of his life was to have a common platform on which members of the different communities might stand together for national purposes, and regard themselves as Indians first, and Hindus, Mahomedans, Parsees, Christians, etc., afterwards. There was nothing sectional or narrow about Mr. Ranade's ideals. He desired progress along all lines of human activity and for all classes and ranks of the people, and he desired us, above everything else, to realize the essential dignity of man as man. We all know how faithfully Mr. Ranade lived up to the ideal he set before himself. It was a noble mission in life fulfilled, but the cost he had to pay for it was by no means a light one.

Conflict between Two Forms of Duty

I do not speak of the sacrifice of physical comfort which it involved — for no man bore his burden more cheerfully, with less desire to complain or with less

[1] Governor of Bombay (1899-1903).

desire even to rest than Mr. Ranade — but I speak of the mental suffering which he had so often to endure. About eight years ago, in speaking of the late Mr. Telang in this very place, Mr. Ranade described in a passage, which has since become classical, the conflict which two ideals of conduct and two forms of duty constantly presented to the minds of men such as he and Mr. Telang, in the present transitional state of our society. Mr. Ranade had to face this conflict in several spheres of his activity and endure the pain which it often occasioned. Not only had he to lead what he himself called a two-fold existence in social and religious spheres, but in political matters also an apparent conflict sometimes arose between what was due to the rulers by way of a generous recognition of their work and difficulties, and what was necessary in the largest interests of the country; and the effort to reconcile the two duties was not always free from anxiety or pain. But Mr. Ranade accepted all such suffering in the right spirit, looking upon it as a preparation for better things to come. "We must bear our cross," he once said,"not because it is sweet to suffer, but because the pain and suffering are as nothing compared with the greatness of the issues involved."

Habit of Constant Introspection

Another characteristic of Mr. Ranade which I would mention to you was his rigorous habit of constant introspection and the severe discipline to which he subjected himself all through life. No man judged himself more severely, or others more charitably, than Mr. Ranade. The marvellous self-control which he always exercised was no gift of Nature, but was the result of a severe discipline constantly applied to himself. I have seen him having the most ferocious and discreditable attacks on him carefully read out to himself while complimentary notices of anything he had said or written were asked to be often left unread. It is a mistake to suppose that his temperament was such that the attacks did not pain him. It is true that he lived and moved on a plane of his own far removed "from the madding crowd's ignoble strife". But he had an exceedingly sensitive mind and was keenly alive to every form of injustice. But he accepted this pain for its disciplinary value and never complained of it even to those who were nearest to him.

Quickness to Discern Earnest Workers

My friend, Sir Bhalchandra has already referred to the extrodinary quickness with which Mr. Ranade discerned and encouraged all earnest workers in the country. He had a wonderful faculty in this respect, and, as a result, he was, to many young men, scattered all over the country, like the central sun from whom they derived their light and warmth, and round whom they moved, each in his own orbit and at his own distance. The feeling of devotion that he was able to inspire in such men was most marvellous, and to those young workers who were privileged to come in intimate personal contact with him, his word was law and his approbation their highest earthly reward. Mr. Ranade, in fact, possessed in the highest degree the ideal attributes of a great teacher. And when

such a master is gone from our midst, is it any wonder that we should feel that the light that till now guided our erring footsteps has been extinguished, and a sudden darkness has fallen upon our lives? However, my Lord, we can only humbly trust that He who gave Mr. Ranade to this nation may give another like him in the fullness of time. Meanwhile, it is our duty to cherish his name, treasure up his example, and be true to his teachings in the faith that a nation that has produced a Ranade need not despair of its future.

MAHADEO GOVIND RANADE

Hindu Union Club Speech

On the occasion of the anniversary celebration of Ranade's death organized by the Hindu Union Club, Bombay, Gokhale delivered the following address :

In January last, my friend Mr. Padhye invited me, in the name of the Hindu Union Club., to deliver the address at this year's anniversary of Mr. Ranade's death. When I received his letter, I felt at once that it was a call to which it was my duty to respond; but I was then in Calcutta and there was no prospect of my returning to this side before the end of March. I, therefore, wrote back to explain how I was situated, offering at the same time to place my humble services at the disposal of the Club, should it, on any account, be thought desirable to postpone the day of this gathering. The Committee of the Club very courteously accepted my offer, and appointed a day convenient to me. And thus it is that you find me this afternoon standing before you to deliver an address, which should really have been delivered something like six months ago.

Ladies and gentlemen, it was easy for me to say 'yes' to the request contained in Mr. Padhye's letter. It was by no means so easy to make up my mind as to what I should say in the course of my address. You all know that Mr. Ranade had great talents, and they were joined to a prodigious amount of industry, and a singular depth of earnest conviction. And for thirty-five years this most remarkable man read, and thought, and wrote, and spoke, and worked incessantly, almost without a day's break or holiday. The material, therefore, on which one may base one's address on Mr. Ranade, is bound to bewilder and overwhelm by its very immensity. Indeed, it seems to me to be an easier matter to deliver a series of a dozen addresses on the different aspects of Mr. Ranade's life and life-work, than to attempt a general discourse such as I am expected to deliver this afternoon. Thus we might speak of Mr. Ranade as one of the saintliest men of our time — one, contact with whom was elevating and holy; or we might speak of him as a patriot, whose love of India overflowed all bounds and whose unwearied exertions for her welfare will always be a bright and shining example to the people of this land; or we might speak of him as a reformer whose comprehensive gaze ranged over the fabric from summit to base, and took in at the same time all parts of it, political, social, religious, industrial, moral and educational; or we might speak of him as a scholar or as a teacher, or again as a worker, I believe, the greatest worker of our time; or we might take his opinions and teachings and the methods that he favoured in the different fields of our national activity and examine them. We might thus have a dozen different discourses, and yet not exhaust our subject. But a general address touching on all these sides of Mr. Ranade's work, and yet avoiding

the appearance of mere commonplace observations, is, in my opinion, a most difficult task.

Ranade's Ideals and Aspirations

In what I am going to say to you today, I do not propose to present anything like a critical estimate of Mr. Ranade's career or achievement. In the first place, we are not sufficiently removed from his time. And secondly, I stood too near him to be able to possess that aloofness without which no critical estimate can be usefully attempted. But this very nearness, which disqualifies me, to a certain extent, for forming a critical estimate, gave me exceptional opportunities to become acquainted with his innermost thoughts and hopes, with his ideals and aspirations, and with the main springs of that magnetic influence, which he exercised on all who came in contact with him. And it is of those that I propose to speak here today. I will tell you as briefly as I can what it was that struck me most in him during the fourteen years that I was privileged to sit at his feet; what was the faith in him, what sustained that faith in the midst of great difficulties and disappointments; and finally, what message he has left behind for the rising generations of his country, so that the harvest for which he laboured may be reaped and not lost in the fullness of time.

Ranade's Patriotism

The first thing that struck any one who came in contact with Mr. Ranade, as underlying all his marvellous personality, was his pure, fervent, profound patriotism. In all my experience, I have met only one other, so utterly absorbed, day and night, in thoughts of his country and of her welfare — and that is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji.[1] To him India's past was a matter of great, of legitimate pride; but even more than the past, his thoughts were with the present and the future, and this was at the root of his matchless and astonishing activity in different fields of reform. Mr. Ranade had realized clearly and completely the great possibilities for us Indians under British rule and the limitations under which practical work for the country had to be done in the existing state of things. I have heard that when he was at college, his ideas were indeed wilder. The late Mr. Javerilal Bhai once told me that in those days Mr. Ranade once wrote an essay, disparaging greatly the British Government, as contrasted with Mahratta rule. Sir Alexander Grant[2] who was then Principal of Elphinstone College, and who had great admiration for Mr. Ranade's talents, and a feeling of personal affection for him, sent for him, and, after pointing out to him the error of his views, said to him: "Young man, you should not thus run down a Government which is educating you and doing so much for your people". And to mark his serious displeasure he suspended Mr. Ranade's scholarship for six months. I may state at once that this remonstrance left no bitter feeling behind, for Mr.

[1] See foot-note 3 on p. 173. [2] See foot-note 1 on p. 22.

Ranade, throughout his life, used to speak of Sir Alexander Grant with deep reverence and admiration. With more reading and thinking came sounder views and the outlook became broader. And, before long, Mr.Ranade came to realize the great mission of his life, and reached that faith which no injustice, no opposition, no disappointment, ever dimmed. His one aspiration through life was that India should be roused from the lethargy of centuries, so that she might become a great and living nation, responsive to truth and justice, and self-respect, responsive to all the claims of our higher nature, animated by lofty ideals, and undertaking great national tasks. And he came to recognize that the present contact between India and England was a Providential arrangement brought about in order that this aspiration might be realized. His conviction on this point never wavered, whatever happened. Even when he himself was misjudged and misunderstood, here he was firm. He often said to those who were about him that though under the present regime there was less field for personal ambition and less scope for the display of individual talent, there were greater possibilities for the mass of our people, and a great future lay before us, if only we roused ourselves to a true sense of our position and did not let slip our opportunities.

Champion of Social Reform

And it was this belief, ardent and passionate, which inspired all Mr. Ranade's activity in the field of reform. It was not merely love of truth, or impatience of evil that made a reformer of Mr. Ranade — these, of course, were there, but Mr. Ranade was by nature far too gentle and forbearing to cause pain to others by an aggressive attitude towards their religious beliefs or social practices, if that pain could by any means be avoided. There have been reformers — and great reformers — in the history of the world and of India too who have preached reform and braved persecution for the sake of truth and of conscience, because they heard a Higher voice urging them to proclaim that truth at all hazards. I think such men stand on a pedestal all their own — the highest on which man can stand. Mr. Ranade's platform was not this — he preached reform, not merely because his conscience urged him to do so, but also because his intellect was satisfied that without reform there was no hope for us as a nation. Men who preach truth for its own sake live really for all humanity, though their words are addressed to the people of a particular time and place. Mr. Ranade was content to live and work for his country only, and though he was a careful student of the history and institutions of other people he studied them mainly to derive lessons from them for the guidance of his own countrymen. I think this essential difference between Mr. Ranade and other great reformers has to be clearly grasped in order to understand the true character of his work and teachings. Thus Raja Ram Mohan Roy[1] took up his stand against idolatry,

[1] Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833); social reformer and statesman; founder of the Brahmo Samaj: successfully agitated against the evil custom of sati; visited England (1831) to represent the claims of Akbar II to the Moghul throne; died at Bristol.

because to his mind the worship of idols was wrong in itself, was against truth, and as such called for his denunciation. Mr. Ranade, too, spoke against idolatry, but it was mainly because it gave rise to low and grovelling superstitions, which impeded the progress of the nation towards a higher stage of moral and religious life. I want you to note this point, because it explains much in Mr. Ranade's conduct which sometimes puzzled his friends. Some of you will remember that, a few years ago, several members of the Prarthana Samaj were displeased with Mr. Ranade, because he went to the Thakurdwar temple to deliver discourses on the lives of saints Tukaram, Ramdas and Eknath. What he said in those discourses was, of course, in entire accord with the teachings of the Samaj, but the very fact that he, a prominent member of the Samaj, should have gone to a place of idolatrous worship for addressing people, gave offence to some. I do not, of course, mean that these gentlemen were wrong in feeling as they did on the occasion. I should probably have felt the same in their place. But Mr. Ranade thought that the discourses were everything — the place where they were delivered was nothing. He wanted his ideas to reach his countrymen and he had no objection to going wherever they were assembled, provided he got an opportunity to speak to them.

A Well-Balanced Mind

The next thing that struck us in Mr. Ranade was that he was the most profound thinker among the Indians of our time, with a mind remarkably well balanced and fitted for taking comprehensive views of things and a great sense of justice and proportion. He was never in a hurry to draw conclusions, always seeking to look beneath the surface, and trace results and growths to their hidden causes. His views were based on wide reading and observation, and were the result of mature reflection and when once formed, they were urged upon the the attention of his countrymen with a force and persistence which could only come of deep and earnest conviction. Again, his comprehensive mind ranged over the entire field of national work and perceived the necessity of a due co-ordination between different activities — and this made him equally keen for reform in all directions — equally interested in all movements — whether they were for the removal of political disabilities and the redressing of administrative grievances or combating the evils of female ignorance and early maternity and righting the wrongs of widows and the depressed classes, or spreading a correct knowledge of the economic situation of the country or purifying worship and making it simpler and more spiritual. But while recognizing the necessity of all these reforms, he realized that, above all, it was necessary for the individual man to be renovated in spirit, so that his springs of action might be purer, his ideals nobler, and his practical life courageous and devoted to worthy ends. His ideas on these subjects he preached with great courage, earnestness, and persistence, but never were they marred by any extravagance of thought or speech. And his convictions were never disturbed by any amount of personal wrong or injustice.

The Dhulia Incident

Many of you probably know that, about twenty-five years ago, there was considerable unrest in the Deccan, and a Poona man, named Vasudev Balvant, openly rose against the Government, collecting a number of ignorant followers and committing dacoities and plundering innocent people. The Government of Sir Richard Temple[1] somehow took it into its head that the dacoits had the sympathy and support of the leading citizens of Poona — because, I believe, Vasudev Balvant was a Poona Brahmin — and, among others, their suspicion fell upon Mr. Ranade. It was, of course, a monstrous suspicion, absolutely undeserved, for Mr. Ranade was the recognized inspirer and leader of the constitutional movement in Poona, as against the resort to violent methods, represented by Vasudev Balvant. However, when, in May 1879, the two palaces in Poona were set fire to by an incendiary, the Government at once transferred Mr. Ranade to Dhulia — he had already been transferred to Nasik, but Dhulia was thought safer, as being more remote from Poona — and though it was vacation time, he was ordered to leave Poona at once and proceed to Dhulia. This action of Government was so extraordinary that even the High Court subsequently protested against the transfer; and, as a matter of fact, it was Mr. Ranade himself who had detected the culprit and secured his confession. On his arrival at Dhulia, his private correspondence was closely watched for about a month, and curiously enough, at that very time he began to get letters from the Poona side, purporting to be reports from leading dacoits of what they intended doing. Mr. Ranade could not help concluding that these letters were sent by the Police to ascertain if he really had any relations with Vasudev Balvant, and he scrupulously handed over to the Dhulia Police all such letters. After a month, during which he often felt bitter in regard to the treatment he was receiving, Mr. Ranade had a talk in the matter with an English officer there — a member of the Civil Service, whose name is well known in this Presidency for his broad-minded sympathy with the people. This officer then expressed his regret at what had been done, assuring Mr. Ranade that Government was satisfied that the suspicion against him was ill-founded. Now, any one in Mr. Ranade's place would have spoken with more or less bitterness, whenever there was occasion to recall the incident. But I remember how in speaking of it to me, he was careful to add: " Oh, such misunderstandings are occasionally more or less inevitable in the present state of things. After all, we must not forget that we might have done much worse in their place." It was a striking illustration of his strong sense of juctice and of the fact that no amount of personal wrong affected his faith in the character of British rule.

[1] Sir RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart. (1826-1902); Chief Commissioner, C. P. (1862-67), Resident, Hyderabad (1867); Finance Member, Central Government (1868-73), Lt.-Governor, Bengal (1874 - 77); Governor of Bombay (1878-80); member, British House of Commons (1885-95).

Sholapur Station Incident

Another instance, of a different kind, illustrating how his mind was habitually alive to all the considerations involved in a question, occurred nine years ago, when we were returning from Madras after attending the Congress and the Conference, and when Mr. Ranade was insulted by a young Civilian at the Sholapur Station, who, taking advantage of Mr. Ranade's absence in a second class carriage (in which the rest of us were travelling) threw down his bedding from his seat in a first class carriage and usurped the seat himself. Mr. Ranade, on being informed of what had happened, quietly went back to his carriage and without one word of remonstrance, sat on the other seat with Dr. Bhandarkar,[1] who was then with us. When the hour for sleeping came, Dr. Bhandarkar, as the lighter of the two, took the upper berth, and gave his own seat to Mr. Ranade. On arriving at Poona, the Englishman, who was then an Assistant Judge, somehow came to know that the gentleman whom he had insulted was Mr. Ranade, Judge of the High Court, and it appeared that he wanted to apologize to Mr. Ranade. Mr. Ranade, however, on seeing him came towards him, simply turned his back on him and walked away. The next day I asked him if he intended taking any steps in the matter. He said : "I don't believe in those things. It will only be a case of statement against statement, and, in any case, it is not worth fighting about." "Moreover," he asked me, "is our own conscience clear in these matters? How do we treat members of the depressed classes — our own countrymen — even in these days? At a time, when they and we must all work hand in hand for our common country, we are not prepared to give up the privileges of our old ascendancy, and we persist in keeping them downtrodden. How can we, then, with a clear conscience, blame members of the ruling race, who treat us with contempt?" " No doubt," he continued, " incidents like this are deeply painful and humiliating, and they try one's faith sorely. But the best use to which we can put even these unpleasant incidents is to grow more earnest and persistent in the work that lies before us. "

His Devotion to Work

Another striking characteristic of Mr. Ranade was his great faith in work. One is filled with a feeling of wonder and awe, as one contemplates the amount of work which this great man did during his life — his mighty brain incessantly engaged in acquiring knowledge and in imparting it with an enthusiasm and an energy of purpose rarely witnessed in this land. Not only was his capacity for work phenomenal, his delight in it was so keen — he almost seemed to reveal in it. In it he lived and moved and had his being. Apathy, he always said, was our greatest curse in these days. Wrong opinions he could stand; misdirected activity he could stand; but apathy filled him with deep sadness —

[1] See foot-note 2 on p. 15.

that he found harder to overcome. He himself approached almost all work with a religious sense of responsibility. Just think of how much work he was able to get through during his life. His official duties throughout were heavy enough; but they did not come in the way of his doing for the country more work in various fields than half a dozen men could have together done. The range of subjects that interested him was wide—philosophy, theology, sociology, history, politics, economics—all seemed to interest him equally. His reading in respect of them was vast, and he tried, as far as possible, to keep himself in regard to them abreast of the times. Then in politics it is well known that, for nearly a quarter of a century, he was the guiding spirit of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. All the best work of the Sabha, in its palmy days, either came from his hands direct, or else had to pass through them. About two, thirds of the articles that appeared in the Quarterly Journal of the Sabha, during its seventeen years, existence, were contributed by him. Under his guidance, the Sabha had attained the first position among the political associations of the country, and its representations, for a number of years, had admittedly far more weight with Government than those of any other Indian organization. In the field of social reform, his activity was boundless, almost from the day he left college to the hour of his death. Constantly writing, speaking, discussing, advising, helping, he took a leading part in every reform movement of his time. Of the Social Conference, he was the father and founder, working for it with a faith that was a sight for gods and men. His interest in religious reform was also deep and continuous, and I have never heard anything richer than some of his sermons. He was a profound thinker, and a frequent writer on economic subjects and his studies in Indian Political Economy are a valuable guide to those students who wish to apply their knowledge of Political Economy to the practical conditions of India. He was one of the principal organizers of the Industrial Conference that used to meet in Poona for some years, and of the Industrial Exhibition that was held during the time of Lord Reay.[1] And most of the industrial and commercial undertakings that have sprung up in Poona during the last twenty years owe a great deal to his inspiration, advice, or assistance. He has left us a History of the Mahrattas, though unfortunately it is incomplete. While in Bombay, he used to take a leading part in the affairs of the University, and Mr. Justice Candy, the late Vice-Chancellor, has borne willing and eloquent testimony to the value of his work in the Syndicate. In addition to all these activities, Mr. Ranade carried on a voluminous correspondence with numerous friends and followers all over India. For a number of years, he received and replied to over twenty letters a day, and these concerned a wide variety of subjects, from petty matters of mere domestic interest to high questions of State policy. He was in touch with every earnest worker throughout India—his heart rejoiced when he met an earnest worker—he noted such a man with unerring judgement, and kept himself in

[1] Governor of Bombay (1885-1890).

communication with him everafter. But it was not merely the amount of work that he did, which excited our admiration. The spirit in which he did it was, if anything, even more wonderful.

Ranade's Optimism

Speakers and writers have often remarked on Mr. Ranade's robust optimism, which they have regarded as a part of his mental constitution. No doubt, to a certain extent, it was so. He had a temperament which was essentially hopeful. It was this which made him note and gather together for use even the smallest signs of progress visible in any part of India. To a certain extent also his optimism sprang from the fact that his horizon was wider than that of others — he saw as from a mountain-top, when others could see only from where they stood on the plain below. But it always appeared to me that Mr. Ranade's great optimism was mainly the result of his being so magnificent a worker. It is generally those who do not work — who do not realize the dignity and the power of work — that give themselves up to preaching the gospel of despair. Mr. Ranade was profoundly convinced that if only our people worked earnestly their future was in their own hands. Work was to him the one condition of national elevation, and having fulfilled it so gloriously in his own case, it was not possible for his mind to be weighed down by thoughts of despondency. About twelve years ago, in speaking of the Social Conference and of its unpopularity, I once ventured to ask him what it was that sustained his faith in the Conference work, seeing that some of the best friends of social reform shook their heads, and said that nothing was to be achieved by such hollow work as holding meetings and passing resolutions. Mr. Ranade turned to me and said: " Not that the work is hollow, but the faith in these men is shallow." After a little pause, he said : "Wait for a few years. I see a time coming, when they will ask the same question about the Congress, which at present, evokes so much enthusiasm. There is something in the race which is unequal to the strain of sustained exertion." For himself, Mr. Ranade had clearly realized that patient and long-sustained work was necessary before any appreciable results could be achieved. A remark of his made to me, in, I believe, 1891, has firmly fixed itself in my memory. In that year there was severe scarcity in the districts of Sholapur and Bijapur. The Sarvajanik Sabha, of which I was then Secretary, had collected a large amount of information about the condition of those districts, and a representation on the subject was in due course submitted to Government. It was a memorial, in the preparation of which we had spent considerable labour and thought. Government, however, sent us a reply of only two lines, just saying that they had noted the contents of our letter. I was greatly disappointed when we received this reply, and the next day, joining Mr. Ranade in his evening walk, I asked him : "What is the good of taking all this trouble submitting these memorials, if Government don't care to say anything more than that they have noted the contents of our letter?" He replied: "You don't realize our place in the history of our country. These

memorials are nominally addressed to Government, in reality they are addressed to the people, so that they may learn how to think in these matters. This work must be done for many years, without expecting any other result, because politics of this kind is altogether new in this land. Besides, if Government note the contents of what we say, even that is something."

Another notable feature of Mr. Ranade's work was readiness to play any role that was necessary, however humble it might be. In the building of the temple, he did not insist upon being assigned the architect's part; he was willing to carry bricks and stones on his back, so the edifice was raised. In the performance of public duties he was prepared to bear personal humiliation, if thereby public interests could be furthered. A striking instance of this came to my notice within a few months of my going to Poona in 1885. In that year our Municipal Boards were reconstituted in accordance with the liberal legislation of Lord Ripon's[1] Government. The elective system was for the first time introduced, and the elections in Poona aroused an extraordinary amount of interest. Before that year, the Municipal regime in Poona had been virtually official, and Mr. Ranade was anxious that in the new Board the popular element should have a chance of administering the affairs of the city. Unfortunately, another distinguished citizen of Poona — the late Mr. Kunte[2] — came forward strongly to support the official side. Mr. Ranade and Mr. Kunte had been great friends from their childhood, having been class-fellows from the very beginning. Mr. Kunte's support of the old regime, however, drew from Mr. Ranade a sharp remonstrance, and Mr. Kunte, who was a powerful speaker, immediately organized a series of ward meetings to oppose the popular party. Feeling for a time ran very high; and it appeared that Government would misunderstand the character of the struggle then going on. Mr. Ranade, therefore, thought it necessary to conciliate Mr. Kunte and with that object, he attended one of Mr. Kunte's meetings, though it was known that Mr. Kunte indulged in strong denunciation of Mr. Ranade personally at almost every one of his meetings. The meeting in question was held in Raste's Peth. It was in the hall of a private house and we were all squatting on the floor and Mr. Kunte was addressing us from one end of the hall, the door being at the other end. After Mr. Kunte had spoken for some time, Mr. Ranade's figure was suddenly seen entering the hall. He came and squatted on the floor near the door like the rest of us. Mr. Kunte immediately turned his back upon him, and, therefore, practically upon the whole audience, and, after a few words uttered with his face to the wall, abruptly closed his speech. On his sitting down Mr. Ranade left his seat and went and sat by him. After the meeting was over, Mr. Ranade

[1] See foot-note on p. 6.

[2] Mahadev Moreshwar Kunte (1835-1888); poet and historian; Headmaster, Karachi High School; Rajaram High School, Kolhapur, and Poona High School for sixteen years; Professor of Sanskrit, Elphinstone College, Bombay; Principal, Ahmedabad College; author of *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India*.

invited Mr. Kunte to go with him in his carriage for a drive. Mr. Kunte, however, roughly said: " I don't want to go into your carriage, " and he went and took his seat in his own carriage. Mr. Ranade, however, quietly followed him, and after saying "Very well, if you won't go with me in my carriage, I will go with you in yours," he stepped into Mr. Kunte's carriage. After this it was impossible for Mr. Kunte to avoid Mr. Ranade and they went out for a long drive, and everything was satisfactorily settled before they returned. Mr. Kunte's anger was appeased, and his opposition to the popular party wholly withdrawn.

Ranade's Saintly Disposition

I have so far spoken of Mr. Ranade's comprehensive intellect, the balance of his mind, his patriotism and his great passion for work. A word or two I will add about the nobility of his nature — his saintly disposition, which, even more than his great intellectual gifts, won for him the devoted admiration and attachment of large numbers of his countrymen throughout India. It is no exaggeration to say that younger men who came in personal contact with him felt as in a holy presence, not only uttering ' nothing base ' but afraid even of thinking unworthy thoughts, while in his company. The only other man who has exercised a similar influence on me in my experience is Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Among Mr. Ranade's great qualities, one of the most prominent was his utter, absolute unselfishness. As I have already told you, he was incessantly working in several fields, but never did he seek the least recognition, never did he think of his getting or not getting credit for this or that. Indeed, nothing pleased him more than to do his work — not only political but almost of every kind — from behind somebody else. His great anxiety was to get more and more men interested in and associated with the work. I do not think anybody ever heard Mr. Ranade said: "I did this, I did that." It was as though the first person singular did not exist in his vocabulary. The humility with which he sought to discipline himself almost to the last day of his life was another of his great qualities. By nature he was very sensitive, feeling keenly injustice or meanness in any shape or form; but his constant effort to discipline himself enabled him to preserve his calmness under the most trying circumstances. The normal state of his mind was indeed one of quiet cheerfulness, arising from a consciousness of work well done, and from humble faith in the purpose of Providence. But even when he was seriously displeased with anything or disappointed with any one, or suffered inwardly owing to other causes, no one, who did not know him intimately, could detect any trace of that suffering on his face. And never did any one — not even those who stood nearest to him — hear him utter a word of complaint against those who might have done him personal injury. He insisted on having attacks on him in newspapers carefully read out to him. He was constantly before the public in one capacity or another, and his views, therefore, came in for a good deal of criticism — friendly and unfriendly — almost from day to day.

The appreciative notices that appeared he did not always read through — I know because I sometimes had to read the papers to him — he rarely read them himself, his sight being defective. But all unfriendly criticism he made a point of hearing. He wanted to know if there was any idea therein that he could accept. And in any case, even if there was pain in hearing all that was said, that pain itself had its disciplinary value.

One more great quality of his I would like to mention on this occasion, and that was his readiness to help all who sought his help — and especially those who were weak and oppressed. He was accessible to all — even the humblest — at all hours of the day. No one ever wrote to him without receiving a reply. He listened patiently to every one. whether he was able to help or not. This indeed was to him a part of his practical religion. After the Amraoti Congress of 1897 when we were returning to this side, he and I were, for one night, the only occupants of our carriage. At about 4 A. M. I was suddenly roused by some singing in the carriage, and, on opening my eyes, I saw Mr. Ranade, sitting up and singing two *Abhangs* of Tukaram again and again, and striking his hands together by way of accompaniment. The voice was by no means musical, but the fervour with which he was singing was so great that I felt thrilled through and through and I too could not help sitting up and listening. The Abhangs were :

जे कां रंजले गांजले । त्यांसी म्हणे जो आपुले ।
तोचि साधू ओळखावा । देव तेथेंचि जाणावा ।।
करि मस्तक टेंगणा । लागे संतांच्या चरणा ।
जरि व्हावा तुज देव । तरि हा सुलभ उपाव ।।

"He who befriends the weary and the persecuted — he is a true saint and God himself is to be found there; " and " Be you humble and seek the favour of saints. If you want to meet God this is an easy way. "

As I sat listening to these verses, I could not help realizing how constant was Mr. Ranade's endeavour to live up to this teaching and how simple and yet how glorious was the rule of life that it inculcated ! It was a rich moment in my own life. The scene indeed will never fade from my memory.

The Message of His Life

Ladies and gentlemen, I have told you as briefly as I could what it was that most struck me in Mr. Ranade. I think that for about thirty years he represented our highest thought and our highest aspiration, and it will be long before we shall have another like him in our midst. It is almost a significant circumstance that Mr. Ranade has passed away at the commencement of a new century, which should have opened for us full of hope and encouragement, but which in reality finds us filled with deep despondency and gloom. That voice — so calm, so faithful, so full of hope — is now hushed in the silence of death; and yet

it was now that our need of it was the greatest. A kind of despair is setting on the minds of some of our foremost workers. I grant that there is much in the present juncture to try our faith and justify such despair. The middle and lower classes of our community seem to be slowly but steadily sinking lower and lower in various parts of the country. And we seem to be losing ground in several directions in the great struggle in which we are engaged. But I am sure it is only a passing phase, and in any case, in giving ourselves up to such despondency we show ourselves unworthy of the work that Mr. Ranade did for us, and of the legacy that he has left behind him. You remember how we wept for him when he died. Never before had such universal grief been witnessed in this land. It was as though a mighty wave of sorrow swept over the whole country, and every one — high and low, rich and poor — was equally touched by it. But our duty towards Mr. Ranade is surely not done by merely mourning his loss. The message of his life must be recognized by us, especially by the younger generations, as sacred and binding. The principles for which he laboured all his life — greater equality for all, and a recognition of the essential dignity of man as man — are bound to triumph in the end, no matter how dark the outlook occasionally may be. But we can all of us strive to hasten that triumph, and herein lies the true dignity of our life: "Work and sacrifice for the Motherland." This is the message which Mr. Ranade has left us. And, my friends, our Motherland, whatever may be her present condition, is worthy of the best work we can give her, of the highest sacrifice we can make for her. She was at one time the home of all that is great and noble in the life of a nation — a noble religion, a noble philosophy and literature and art of every kind. This great heritage is ours; and if only we remember this and realize the great responsibility which it imposes upon us, if we are true to ourselves and are prepared to live and work for her in the spirit of our departed leader, there is no reason why her future should be in any way unworthy of her past.

MAHADEV GOVIND RANADE

Speech at Madras

On Sunday, the 24th July 1904, *Gokhale laid the foundation-stone of the Ranaae Library at the South Indian Association, Mylapore, Madras. In doing so, he spoke as follows* :

I must, in the first place, tender to the promoters of this memorial movement my most sincere and grateful thanks for the great honour which they have done me in asking me to lay this foundation-stone. When I was first apprised of your intention to ask me to perform this function, I confess I was greatly astonished that your kindness for me personally should have carried you so far as to make you lose sight of certain obvious considerations, and that you should have decided to ask one who was comparatively a junior worker in public life to undertake a duty, ordinarily reserved, and very properly reserved, only for men who held distinguished positions in life or had grown grey in the service of their country. However, I found that it was impossible for me to get out of the position without upsetting all your arrangements and causing you serious inconvenience, and thus it is that you find me coming before you this morning in a capacity in which I would not have appeared, had the matter rested with me only.

Memorials to Ranade

Gentlemen, to me as a Mahratta and as one whose privilege it was to sit humbly and reverently for more than twelve years — the allotted period of discipleship in this land — at the feet of Mr. Ranade, it cannot fail to be a matter of deep gratification and pride to see that a memorial of this kind is being raised in his honour in this capital of the Southern Presidency. We, on the Bombay side, are, of course, having our memorials to him. There is first of all the Bombay movement, whose fund now stands at about Rs. 20,000, which, I understand, is going to be devoted to the erection of a statue. Then there is the movement at Poona. Our fund we expect to exceed a lakh of rupees and we purpose to devote it to the founding of an Economic Institute, intended to encourage the study of economic questions and to promote the industrial development of this country. Then there is the Social Conference memorial, which was inaugurated two years ago at Ahmedabad and which is intended to carry on Mr. Ranade's work in connection with social reform. We are thus trying to do what little we can to express our sense of the deep and undying gratitude we owe to Mr. Ranade. We came under the influence of his work and his thoughts, and we owe it to ourselves to show that his memory is to us a most cherished possession. But, gentlemen, that you in Madras should also think it necessary to raise a memorial in Mr. Ranade's honour is, to my mind, a circumstance of deep significance —

illustrative of the new spirit which is moving on the face of the waters, of the new life with which the dead bones in the valley are becoming slowly instinct.

Ranade Belonged to the Whole Country

What is the meaning of this memorial which you are raising here today? I interpret it as a recognition of the fact that Mr. Ranade was a man who belonged not to one province, but to the whole country, not to one race or caste, but to all the races and castes and creeds that are to be found in India. And the work that he gave to the country as a whole is regarded with love and reverence by all, irrespective of the differences of place or language. How came Mr. Ranade to receive this recognition, and what was the character of his work that it should be so cherished by his countrymen? Of course, we all know that Mr. Ranade was a pre-eminently great and a pre-eminently good man — a great thinker, a great scholar, a great worker, a saintly person in private life. But this by itself would not have sufficed to bring him so close to the hearts of his countrymen as we know him to be, and as this great gathering so well illustrates. And a man must enter largely into a higher life and must win a prominent place in our hearts, before the people will come forward to honour his memory after death. I have already said that Mr. Ranade was a pre-eminently great and a pre-eminently good man. But he was more. He was one of those men who appear, from time to time, in different countries and on different occasions, to serve as a light to guide the footsteps of our weak and erring humanity. He was a man with a mission in life — the preacher of a new gospel, one who imparted a new impulse to our thoughts and breathed a new hope into our hearts. And this mission was to interpret to us the new order of things that had come into existence under the dispensation of a wise Providence — to point out to us its meaning, the opportunities it afforded, the responsibilities it imposed and the rich harvest that was to be gathered, if only we did not shrink from the labour that was demanded of us.

High Qualifications for His Mission

And high indeed were his qualifications for delivering his message to us. A great, a massive intellect, a heart that overflowed with the love of his country, an earnest and dauntless spirit, an infinite capacity for work, patience inexhaustible, and an humble faith in the purpose of Providence that nothing shook – a man so equipped could worthily undertake the task of moulding the thoughts and hopes and aspirations of his countrymen. And for thirty-five years Mr. Ranade worked for us not in one field but nearly in all fields of human activity, the one passion of his heart throughout being that India might take her place among the nations of the world, worthy of her ancient greatness, her men and women growing to the full height of their stature, inspired by high ideals and undertaking great national tasks.

I think no man of our time had realized more clearly or completely the character of the work that lies before us or the conditions under which that work has got to be done. An ancient race had come in contact with another;

possessing a more vigorous, if a somewhat more materialistic, civilization and if we did not want to be altogether submerged or overwhelmed, it was necessary for us to assimilate what was noble and what was vigorous in the new influences operating upon us, preserving at the same time what was good and noble in our own system. I believe no man cherished more lovingly and reverently the past of this land than Mr. Ranade. "We could not," as he once declared, "break with the past, if we would. We must not break with it if we could." But he was not content to live simply wrapped up in the past. To him, the present and the future of the country were of more pressing importance than the past, and while a study of the past sustained us in our struggle and furnished guidance for our work, by reminding us of the limitations imposed by the laws of historical unity of growth and pointing out the deficiencies in our character and development which had to be supplied, the main interest of life was represented by the extent to which the duties of the present were performed and the ground for the future prepared. In this spirit, he read incessantly, he thought incessantly, he observed incessantly, and he incessantly endeavoured to apply the results of his reading, and his observation, to a solution of the practical problems by which he found his countrymen surrounded. And his heart rejoiced whenever he found another to work in the same spirit. He noted such a man, wherever he might be, with unerring instinct, put himself in touch with him, encouraged him in every way open to him, and never lost sight of him afterwards. And thus it was that workers in all parts of India looked up to him for light and guidance, for approbation in their success and comfort in their disappointment and formed, so to say, so many centres to spread the influence of his thoughts and his hopes.

God's Chosen Instrument

Joined to all this was a magnetic personality, without which no man can ever become a great leader or a great teacher of men. The grandeur and nobility of his soul impressed itself on all who came in any kind of contact with him, men were afraid to think unworthy thoughts before him, they felt themselves to be in an atmosphere of holiness, of love and of service — they felt as though they were in the presence of a being of a higher order. Well, gentlemen, such men are among the chosen instruments of God to work out His beneficent purpose in this world, and when they pass away, no man can estimate the extent of the calamity. And thus it was that, when Mr. Ranade passed away more than three years ago, many of us felt that sudden darkness had fallen upon our lives. It was as though a mighty sorrow had swept over the land, and high and low, rich and poor, men of different castes and creeds, men of different provinces — all drew together in the consciousness of a choking loss. And memorial movements were started in different places to acknowledge the depth of immense gratitude which the country owed to him who had gone and to show that we were not altogether unworthy of his having lived and worked for us.

Scope of Madras Memorial

Gentlemen, I rejoice that the memorial of Madras is taking the form of a library. You could not have decided upon a more appropriate form of perpetuating his memory. Mr. Ranade's time was spent in the company of books, more than that of any other man of our day that I know of. It is certain that no man profited more by what he read or applied to practical purposes the result of his reading. And nothing gave him more satisfaction or filled him with greater hope than to see young men devoting themselves to the study of those branches of knowledge, for which this library is intended to offer special facilities. I see that your library is in connection with the South Indian Association, which has been started for the encouragement of study in five different branches in the field of history, in the field of economics, in the field of politics, in the field of industries and in the field of science. Of these, three at any rate were branches in which Mr. Ranade himself greatly excelled, and to which there is need for our young men to devote themselves. In industrial and scientific studies, it is not possible for the bulk of our educated men to achieve any great or striking results. That requires a high degree of specialized knowledge and such knowledge can be possessed only by a few. I do hope that the activity of this Association, when it is in full swing, will produce some men who will take up these branches for their lifelong study. For the bulk of our young men, however, the other three branches, viz. history, economics and politics, will and must have the greatest attraction.

I see you have excluded from your programme the study of literature, religion and philosophy, and I believe the omission to be significant. It does not mean that you undervalue the study of those branches — far from it — but that, in your opinion, the studies that you provide for require to be specially encouraged, in as much as they are most neglected. Gentlemen, we must frankly recognize the difficulties that beset a man who seeks general knowledge in these days. The output of literature in any subject in the world is now so great and the accumulation is becoming so vast, that it is impossible for any one to take all knowledge for his domain as it was, perhaps, once possible. We must now all bow to the inevitable and make a choice, and having made a choice, we must stick up to it. I think you cannot recommend to the bulk of our educated young men any study more useful than that of history, economics and politics. Even in these, most of them cannot hope to become specialists, but they can acquire a fair amount of general acquaintance, which, in the present circumstances of the country, is most essential in order that they might be qualified to become better citizens, understanding the character of the work that has to be done and recognizing the limitations subject to which it has to be done. A careful study in these three fields will balance our judgement, widen our sympathies and broaden our vision and our outlook on life, and will enable us to profit better by the discipline through which we are passing.

And if we have a large class of men well read in these subjects, the level of

public life will, of necessity, be raised because their capacity to appreciate discriminatingly will not fail to act on their leaders. Gentlemen, one just reproach against our educated men is that their studies cease directly they leave college; that the education they receive at college, instead of being a mere foundation, is, in most cases, really the whole fabric. I think in this matter we ought to imitate more largely the example of Europeans, who after satisfying the claims of their occupation which is the means of their livelihood, have, as a rule, what may be called a second interest in life in the shape of some study or other. Such second interest often prevents a man from being cramped or narrowed, as is the case with those whose energies are confined to the pursuit which brings them their daily bread. I hope this library will supply such a second interest to the lives of many of our young men, and I hope the young men who will come to this library will realize the responsibility that rests upon them. If you merely have a library, a building and books, that by itself is not raising a memorial. In one sense Mr. Ranade did not require any memorial. His work and the influence of his life constitute the best memorial that can possibly be raised to any man. But this memorial that is being raised today is for our own instruction and profit. It offers us facilities which are intended to be availed of in order that we might be qualified better and better to undertake the work that Mr. Ranade himself did and that he wanted us to continue. Remember when you come here that the eye of a great master, though himself no longer amongst us, is on you. Let that stimulate you to take the utmost advantage of the facilities which this library offers you. In proportion as you do this, you will have raised a true memorial to Mr. Ranade. Gentlemen, I wish every success and prosperity to this institution.

DADABHAI NAOROJI[1]

Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in September 1905 *on the occasion of the celebration of the eighty-first birthday of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale delivered the following speech :*

I thank you sincerely for the honour you have done me in asking me to take the chair on this occasion. To my mind, it is a great privilege to be called upon to take a prominent part in this celebration. A public celebration of the birthday of a private individual is a unique event in any land, and its value is increased a hundred-fold when, as in this case, diverse classes and creeds join in paying the homage. Mr. Dadabhai must have received, during this long and illustrious life, innumerable proofs of the intense devotion with which he is regarded by all classes of the people in this country; but I doubt if any expressions of admiration and gratitude — even the most enthusiastic demonstrations ever held in his honour — could equal in their significance this annual celebration of his birthday, which is now instituted, not only in Bombay, but also in other parts of India.

Sacred Representative of National Aspirations

Gentlemen, what is the meaning of this great gathering here today? How is it that Mr. Dadabhai has in course of time attained in the hearts of millions of his countrymen, without distinction of race or creed, a place which rulers of men might envy and which in its character is more like the influence which great teachers of humanity have exercised on those whose thoughts and hopes and lives they have lifted to a higher plane? To us he is not merely a great political leader — the foremost of our time, and for the last half a century. It is because he embodies in his person all that is high and noble in our land and stands as the sacred representative of our national aspirations for the future, that our deepest devotion is given to him. He had attained this position before many of us were born, and few are those among us whose earliest awakening to the claims of nationality has not been influenced by his teaching and his example. Gentlemen, eighty years ago, when Mr. Dadabhai first saw the light of day, if any one had ventured to predict that he would one day stand forth as the most trusted spokesman of a united India, such a man would have been set down as a dreamer of wild dreams. In 1825, the power of the Mahrattas had just been overthrown. And though the first generation of British administrators — foremost among whom will always stand the honoured name of Elphinstone[2] — had taken in hand the work of consolidation in a spirit of wise and

[1] See foot-note 3 on p. 173.

[2] MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE (1779-1859); Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent at the Peshwa's Court at Poona (1801); Resident at Poona (1811-17); Governor of Bombay (1819-27).

liberal statesmanship the people on this side were naturally sullen and discontented and not without a vague expectation that their own Government would return some day. Western education had then hardly begun — the Charter Act of 1833 was yet some way off — and the idea of the different parts of this great country drawing together in a common feeling and a common aspiration could have been no more realized even mentally than is the idea of a united Asia realized by us today. I think it is to the infinite honour of British rule and the wise and large-hearted policy followed in the administration of the country — especially in matters of education — that what was then almost difficult to conceive has now already become a fact and a reality. And to Mr. Dadabhai and the earliest band of Indian reformers, that worked with him, belongs the credit of understanding aright the true meaning of the new order of things and the possibilities that it implied for their countrymen, and of throwing themselves heart and soul into the work of realizing those possibilities in practice.

Since then, one generation of workers has entirely disappeared from the scene and of the next only a few are left — may they remain long with us! — to guide us. But Mr. Dadabhai has all through remained in the forefront of the movement and neither age nor disappointment has chilled his ardour nor has absence diminished his hold on his countrymen. This political agitation which has grown from small beginnings to its present proportions has been watched over by him with the tender solicitude of a parent. To him its success or failure has meant the success or failure of his own life. And he has known it in all its phases — when hope and faith were strong, as also when the sky was overcast with clouds. In celebrating, therefore, Mr. Dadabhai's birthday today, we honour one who has been a visible embodiment of our struggles and our aspirations for more than half a century and we lift up our hearts in humble gratitude to the Giver of all Good that a life so wholly consecrated for the service of our motherland has been spared so long.

Dadabhai's Principal Teachings

And, gentlemen, what a life it has been! Its sweet purity, its simplicity, its gentle forbearance, its noble self-denial, its lofty patriotism, its abounding love, its strenuous pursuit of high aims — as one contemplates these, one feels as though one stood in a higher presence! Surely there must be hope for a people that could produce such a man, even if, as Mr. Ranade once said, he be only one in three hundred millions! But, gentlemen, it is unnecessary for me to dwell on the personal qualities of Mr. Dadabhai before a Bombay audience. Rather, would I utilize the minutes for which I may still claim your indulgence for a brief reference to his principal teachings, round which a certain amount of controversy has of late gathered. No one has been more warm than Mr. Dadabhai in his acknowledgement of the great benefits which British rule has conferred on us. But he was the earliest to perceive — and throughout his long career he has ceaselessly endeavoured to make the ruling nation realize this — that these benefits are marred by two great evils — one material and the other moral. The

material evil is the large drain of wealth that takes place year after year from this country; the moral evil is the steady dwarfing of the whole race owing to its exclusion from all high and responsible offices. Now, I think on both these points Mr. Dadabhai's position is unassailable.

Take the drain of wealth first. Mr. Dadabhai has all these years contended that a large proportion of the wealth of the country goes out of it annually without a material equivalent. And this includes not merely the pension and furlough charges of European officers, payments to the War Office for European troops and other expenses in England of the Indian Government, but the profits earned and sent out of the country by European merchants, the savings of English lawyers, of English doctors, of Europeans in Civil and Military employ — and he calculates that this drain amounts to at least twenty millions sterling a year. Now, whatever justification may be urged for this drain on grounds of expediency or of political necessity, from the purely economic point of view, it is so much wealth drained from the country, because no material equivalent is left in its place. The services which are rendered by these men would, in a normal state of things, have been rendered by Indians themselves, but in the present abnormal situation, they keep this number of Indians out of employment, and help to carry away so much wealth from the country without material equivalent. Now, even if India had been a wealthy country, such an annual drain would have been a most serious matter; but it is now admitted on all hands, even by the most inveterate official optimists, that India is one of the poorest countries in the world, and Mr. Dadabhai's contention is that this annual drain of wealth practically wipes out the country's margin for saving, and as industry is limited by capital and capital can result only from saving, this drain makes the industrial development of the country by the children of the soil a practical impossibility.

Our Exclusion from High Office

As regards our exclusion from high and responsible offices, his position is equally clear. When we agitate for admission to the higher ranks of the public service, it is not merely that we want a few more posts, for our countrymen; though, even if it were only that, there is nothing in it to provoke a sneer. But, as a matter of fact, our claim is for a participation in the responsibilities of Government. We want to occupy in our own country places which develop resourcefulness and strength of character and the capacity to take the initiative, and which virtually represent the difference between men who rule and men who merely obey. But then, some of the critics say, Mr. Dadabhai of late has been making use of language which is much too bitter, and which can only rouse a feeling of resentment among members of the ruling class. Now, gentlemen, I want those who make such a complaint to consider one or two points. Every one knows that Mr. Dadabhai is one of the gentlest men to be found anywhere in the world. When such a man is driven to the use of bitter language,

there must be something in the situation to make him so bitter; and the responsibility for his bitterness must, therefore, lie not on him but on those who make the situation what it is. Again, take the writings of Mr. Dadabhai of his earliest years; take even his writings of middle age; and I say, without the least fear of contradiction, that no one will be able to lay his finger on a single word which can in any way be described as bitter. If latterly he has been using language which to some may appear too strong, it is because he finds that he has been all these years like one crying in the wilderness; also because he finds, as we all find, that for some years past the ideals of British rule in this country are being steadily lowered. Further, ladies and gentlemen, a man of Mr. Dadabhai's great age and lifelong devotion to the best interests of his country may well claim to state the naked truth, as he perceives it, without any artifical embellishments such as you or I are expected occasionally to employ. I think Mr. Dadabhai stands today in the position of a teacher not only to his countrymen but also to the rulers of the land. And whoever has thought of complaining that a teacher does not care to overlay truth with a quantity of soft and plausible expressions? Moreover, gentlemen, I do not mind Englishmen occasionally making such a complaint, but I really have no patience with those of our own countrymen who, having done nothing or next to nothing for their country themselves, do not hesitate to say that Mr. Dadabhai is injuring the country's cause by the use of violent language. No, gentlemen, whether Mr. Dadabhai uses mild words or bitter words, our place is round his standard, by his side. Whoever repudiates Mr. Dadabhai, he is none of us. Whoever tries to lay rude and irreverent hands on him, strike him down.

Exhortation to the Younger Generation

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have no wish to detain you longer; but I will address just one word of exhortation to the younger portion of my audience before I conclude. My young friends, I want you to consider what a glorious example Providence has placed before you in the life of Mr. Dadabhai. The purpose of this celebration will hardly be attained if the enthusiasm kindled in you by a contemplation of his great life were to show itself in the applause with which you greet his name. I want you to ponder over the lessons of that life and try to realize them as far as you may in thought and conduct, so that in course of time they will become a part and parcel of your very being. Gentlemen, a loving and all-wise Providence gives to different people at different times according to their need great men who serve as lights to guide the footsteps of our weak and erring humanity. There can be no doubt whatever that Mr. Dadabhai has been given to the people of this country as one of such men. To my mind, he is one of the most perfect examples of the highest type of patriotism that any country has ever produced. Of course, none of us can attain to his eminence or to anything like it. It may also be given to very few to have his indomitable will, his marvellous capacity for industry, and his great mental elevation, But we can all of us love the country without distinction of race and creed, as he has done;

we can all sacrifice something for the great cause which he has served so faithfully and so long. After all, the lesson of sacrifice for the motherland is the greatest to be learnt from Mr. Dadabhai's life. And if only our young men will realize this in their own lives, even partially, however dark the outlook at times may appear, the future is bound to be full of hope.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank you sincerely for having given me a patient hearing.

W. C. BONNERJEE[1]

At the memorial meeting held at the Caxton Hall, in London, on Saturday, August 4, 1906, the condolence resolution was moved by Gokhale. In moving the resolution Gokhale delivered the following speech :

We are assembled here today to give public expression to our grief that the hand of Death has removed from our midst our illustrious countryman — Mr. Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee. The event, it is true, has not come upon us as wholly unexpected. For some time past it was well known that Mr. Bonnerjee's health had been completely shattered, that there was no hope of recovery, and that continued existence in that state was to him only a prolongation of agony. However that the end has actually come, and we are forced to realize that our great and trusted leader, whom it was a joy to love no less than to follow, is no more with us, the mind feels as completely bewildered and overwhelmed as though the great Destroyer had come with stealthy and noiseless steps and had inflicted on us our loss without warning and with the shock of a sudden blow.

National Calamity of First Magnitude

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. Bonnerjee was a man whose death would leave humanity the poorer in any age and in any part of the world. To India, in her present stage of transition, with difficult and complicated problems arising on all sides, his passing away is a national calamity of the first magnitude, and we indulge in no exaggeration when we say that our loss is truly irreparable. It is not my purpose today to attempt here an estimate of the character and career of our great countryman. Our loss is still too fresh and our sense of it too acute and poignant to permit of my undertaking any such task in a meeting of this kind. And all I beg leave to do in commending this resolution to your acceptance is to say a few words expressive of my profound admiration of the many noble qualities, both natural and acquired, of our departed leader, and of my humble appreciation of the great, the signal service which he has rendered to our national cause. Ladies and gentlemen, we all know that Mr. Bonnerjee was one of the most distinguished, as he was one of the most successful, lawyers that our country has produced. Now, if he had been only that and nothing else, even then his title to a public expression of our admiration and respect would have been unquestioned. National life to be complete must be many-sided; and a man who brings honour to the Indian name, no matter in what field, advances thereby our national cause and deserves to be honoured by us on national grounds.

[1] See foot-note on p. 276.

But Mr. Bonnerjee's claim to our admiration and gratitude rested, of course, on a much wider basis than his pre-eminent attainments as a lawyer. He was, in addition, an ardent patriot, a wise and far-sighted leader, an incessant worker, a man whose nobility of mind and greatness of soul were stamped on every utterance and every action of his life. His intellectual gifts were of the very highest order. Endowed with an intellect at once critical, vigorous, and comprehensive, a truly marvellous memory, luminous powers of exposition, captivating eloquence, great industry, and a wonderful habit of method and discipline, Mr. Bonnerjee was bound to achieve, in whatever field he chose to work, the most brilliant success.

The Most Manly Man

Then he had a wide outlook on life, deep and earnest feeling and a passionate desire to devote his great gifts to the service of his country. And added to these were a fine presence, an extraordinary charm of manner, and that combination of strength and restraint which made him one of the most manly men that one could come across. Such a man must tower above his fellow-men, wherever he is placed. In a self-governing country he would, without doubt, have attained the position of Prime Minister. We in India twice made him President of our National Congress, and what was more, when the great movement was started twenty-one years ago and the first Congress ever held in India assembled in Bombay, the delegates unanimously elected Mr. Bonnerjee to guide them in their deliberations. And since that time down to the moment of his death, Mr. Bonnerjee, with two or three others, was the very life and soul of that movement. He ungrudgingly gave to the cause his time and his resources — and this far more than is generally known. He cheerfully bore all its anxieties, his exertions for its success were unwearied; and no man's counsel was valued higher by his countrymen, where the Congress was concerned. His courage was splendid, and it rose with difficulties, and his nerve and his clear judgement were a theme of constant admiration among his countrymen. With Mr. Bonnerjee at the helm, everyone felt safe.

Combination of Firmness and Restraint

His was the eloquence that thrills and stirs and inspires, but his was also the practical sagacity that sees the difference between what may be attained and what cannot and when the need arose no man was firmer than Mr. Bonnerjee in exercising a sobering and restraining influence. I can recall at this moment more than one meeting of the Subjects Committee of the Congress, at which really all important deliberations take place, where Mr. Bonnerjee's far-sighted wisdom and the great weight attaching to his personality steadied the judgement of wilder spirits, and established harmony where discord was apprehended. The loss of such a leader, no words that I can employ can adequately describe, and he has passed away at a time when he was more

indispensable than ever, in view of the signs one sees of the vessel of the Congress being about to encounter somewhat rough weather.

His Services to the National Cause

Ladies and gentlemen, it is really superfluous that I should dwell at any length before an assembly composed so largely of my own countrymen on the distinguished services rendered by Mr. Bonnerjee to our national cause. And, if I refer briefly to one or two of them, it is because they are not very widely known, and they illustrate how immense is the debt that we owe him. You are aware that no Englishman has ever served India more nobly or more zealously than the late Mr. Bradlaugh.[1] Now, it was Mr. Bonnerjee who enlisted Mr. Bradlaugh's sympathies on our side and secured his powerful championship for our aspirations. Then the part Mr. Bonnerjee has played in keeping together all these years the British Committee of the Congress and in maintaining unimpaired its activity in this country, will always constitute one of his best claims to our affection and gratitude. Very few, indeed, of our countrymen have any idea of the difficulties that have had to be overcome from time to time in this connection, of the worries they have involved, and of the sacrifices they have required. But, if our great friends, Sir William Wedderburn[2] and Mr. Hume[3] had been here today, they would have told you as indeed, our venerable chairman may, if he speaks a few words at the end, how invaluable have been Mr. Bonnerjee's co-operation and assistance in this matter.

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not wish to detain you longer. Many of us lose in Mr. Bonnerjee not only a great leader, but also a warm generous friend. Who that has ever enjoyed the hospitality of his beautiful home at Croydon — now, alas, plunged into the depths of grief — will forget the singular charm of his personality, the charity of his judgements, his touching devotion to those around him, or the kindness he loved to lavish on all whom he admitted to the privilege of his friendship. And, speaking in this connection, may I say how our hearts go out today to the bereaved family, whose loss is beyond words, and especially to that stricken lady whose life has now been rendered desolate and to whom the world will never be the same again!

One word more and I have done. Mr. Bonnerjee has now crossed the line which there is no recrossing. But he is not altogether gone from us. He has left us the precious inheritance of a noble example. He has left us his name to honour, his memory to cherish. Above all, he has left us the cause — the cause he loved so dearly and served so well. Our very sorrow today speaks to us of our duty to that cause and no tribute that we can offer to the memory of the departed will be more truly fitting than a resolve to recognize and an endeavour to discharge this duty according to the measure of our capacity and the requirements of our country.

[1] See foot-note on p. 271.

[2] See foot-note on p. 184.

[3] See foot-note on p. 270.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN[1]

The vote of thanks to the President, Sir William Wedderburn, of the twenty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress, which was held at Allahabad, was moved by Gokhale on December 29, 1910. *In doing so he said :*

It is my privilege now to move that our most cordial thanks be accorded to our President, Sir William Wedderburn, for the great trouble he has taken in coming to India to preside over this Assembly and for his devoted labours in guiding aright the deliberations of the Congress. Gentlemen, on the opening day of this Congress installing Sir William in the chair as also today in moving a vote of thanks to the British Committee, our distinguished countryman, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea[2] has spoken of Sir William's life-long services to India with an eloquence and a felicity of expression all his own; and to what he has said, several prominent members of this Congress have also already added their own tributes. I will not, therefore, occupy you for more than a very few minutes. And as a matter of fact, it is really unnecessary for me or for anybody else to say anything to commend this resolution to your enthusiastic and unanimous approval.

Gentlemen, we are bound to feel that any acknowledgement of the services which Sir William has rendered to this country, no matter from whom it comes, or no matter how it is made, is bound to be a most inadequate expression of the feelings which rise uppermost in our hearts at the mere thought of all that we owe to him, for all that he has felt for us, for all that he has hoped for us, for all that he has done for us, for all that he has borne and braved for us. That being so, I really think that I need not occupy much of your time; but there are two or three things which I hope you will permit me to say. Sir William, before he left England, mentioned, at the gathering which had assembled to do him honour, that on the 25th November he was to complete the 50th year of his service in the cause of the people of this country. It is almost a coincidence that this period of fifty years is divided into almost two equal parts, the first half being his period of service as an official and the second half being his period of work as our trusted leader in England. Now even when Sir William was serving in this country as an official he was doing more than any other official of his time on our side to bring the two races closer together. I remember the words of my great master, Mr. Ranade[3] once telling me that among all the

[1] See foot-note on p. 184.

[2] Sir SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE, I.C.S. (1848-1925); Collector, Sylhet, but resigned owing to differences with superiors; edited the daily *Bengalee*; President, Indian National Congress (1895); member, Bengal and Imperial Legislative Councils.

[3] See foot-note 5 on p. 22.

Englishmen whom he had known there was none to be put on the side of Sir William.

Unstinted Work for India

That was while he was an official, but after his retirement, he has thrown himself heart and soul into our work and India has held his whole heart to the exclusion of every other subject; and for the last twenty-five years he has laboured for us in England, he has watched for us in England, he has fought for us in England, as no other man of our time has done. During these twenty-five years everything that he has undertaken has been entirely for the sake of India. For our sake he went into Parliament, for our sake he left Parliament, for our sake he made friends, for our sake he entered into hostilities, for our sake he undertook the most menial service and the lasting work that can be undertaken. Nothing was too small or too laborious for him to undertake if only it was for the good of India.

If this has been his work during fifty years, was it any wonder that when Sir William came to know that it was the wish of the United Provinces that he should come over to preside at this Congress that he readily assented to do so? That he undertook this mission in spite of the dissuasions of those dearest and nearest to him, in spite of the advice of his doctor, in spite of the grave anxiety of his friends, was not to be wondered at. It was sufficient for him to see that his coming out to India would be of use to India and even at his great advanced age and his impaired health, he undertook this voyage in order to preside over our deliberations here. Well, that in itself would entitle him to our enduring gratitude, but the manner in which he has guided us during these stormy days, the manner in which he has given every moment of his time and thought to our work, from the moment he landed up to the present, has filled every one of us with the utmost admiration and gratitude. I have had special opportunities of watching him during these days and I may tell you that from the moment he landed, his one thought has been how to bring these proceedings to a harmonious and successful close. Sir William has guided our deliberations with wisdom and insight that are altogether his own, his wisdom born of long experience and insight that is his by nature; and in addition to the wisdom and insight he has also brought to bear on his task great tact, great patience and great gentleness, and the proceedings have proved to be so successful, as I am sure everybody will agree that they have, the credit is mainly due to Sir William's presence in the chair.

His Stern Sense of Justice

I will say one thing more and conclude. Why is it that Sir William has done all this for us? Why is it that he has come all this distance? Why is it that he has been taking all this trouble for the last twenty-five years, if we exclude his official career? Well, the answer to this is twofold. Part of the answer is that he could not help it, that it was in his very composition, that he was so made; this

would be part of the answer. The other part of the answer is based on this, namely, that by temperament, by nature, Sir William is one of the most fair-minded men that exist anywhere. His strong stern absolute sense of justice has been responsible for making him do all this work. He saw that the present arrangements were not just to the people of this country, and he has thrown himself heart and soul to make them more just and to set right the injustice done to the people of this country. Then, again, we all know how deep, how passionate is his attachment to the cause of humanity in general. Wherever there is wrong, Sir William's sympathy goes straight to that place. His deep attachment to the cause of humanity — it is that that has also sent him in this direction. These two are general grounds. That is his composition and that is how he is made; but in addition to these two there have been two other causes. The first is his deep, his abounding love for the people of this country, love that has stood all tests, such tests that even Indians themselves will not be able to stand.

Abiding Love for India

Certainly his love for India was more than that of most Indians and certainly more than that of any Englishman. He has loved us in spite of our defects. He has always been ready to overlook our faults and he has been always anxious to make most of any good point in us and he has always asked us to go on cheering us forward, encouraging us when we have done well and always standing by us whether we have done well or ill. That is one source of the work that he has done for us and the other one is his faith in the people of India. His faith in the people of India is indeed a part of his great personality. He has believed in us in spite of the obloquy of his own countrymen. He has believed in us in spite of appearances. He has believed in us in spite of ourselves. It is because he has so believed in us that he has been able to work through sunshine and storm, and through good report and evil report in England all these twenty-five years and having done this work we find him now at his great age coming to help us in our difficulties, trying to smooth matters for us; and I am sure that among the many services he has rendered to the people of India, this will be regarded as the greatest and most crowning achievement. I really do not wish to say anything more and I should not have said even so much as this. The picture of this great venerable *rishi* of modern times who has done this work for us is a picture that is too ennobling, too beautiful, too inspiring for words: it is a picture to dwell upon lovingly and reverentially and it is a picture to contemplate in silence. I commend, therefore, that this proposition which I have moved should be carried amidst acclamation.

LORD MINTO[1]

A farewell entertainment was given to Lord Minto by the citizens of Bombay in December 1910. Gokhale spoke as follows on the occasion :

The Entertainment Committee has done me great honour by asking me to propose on this occasion the health of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Minto. It has been my privilege to represent this presidency on the Viceroy's Legislative Council during all the time that Lord Minto has been at the head of the Indian administration. I may, therefore, claim special opportunities to have watched at close quarters the great work that he has done for us, even more than the work, the spirit in which he had laboured to accomplish that work. To this work and spirit some very eloquent tributes have been paid during the last few days and I don't think there is much left unsaid which now requires to be said. I will not, therefore, detain you any longer, but I wish to say just one or two things.

Sympathetic towards Indian Aspirations

The first thing that I would like to say is that that though during the last two years of His Excellency's administration, the atmosphere was quieter and the feeling easier, still there is no doubt that during the first three years the situation was very dark and very anxious indeed and even when it was the darkest and most anxious and even when the clouds were thickest, we all felt that we had at the head of the administration a ruler whose sympathies were frankly generous towards our reasonable and legitimate aspirations and whom we could trust. I venture to think that this was a factor of considerable importance in the situation.

Another thing I would like to say is that during the five years it has fallen to His Excellency's lot to make many speeches and in view of the great provocation that was caused to His Excellency there would have been ample excuse for the use of harsh language; yet not one word had fallen from His Excellency which can be resented as unjust or which could leave a stain behind it. I think this is a most significant tribute to the qualities which have made His Excellency's career a great success. His Excellency has played a historic part in the administration of the country and everybody recognizes that he has done his best to deepen and broaden the foundation of the administrative fabric. The people of this country, whatever their faults, are not wanting in feelings of gratitude, and I assure you that his name will be cherished with affection and admiration for a long time to come. And in the loving memory of the people another name

[1] Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1905-10).

will be included — that of Her Excellency Lady Minto who has been by his side through the times of storm and stress, and who in her own sphere has done so much for the advancement of the women of India. India parts with Lord and Lady Minto with unfeigned regret, and we wish them long life and prosperity.

SHISHIR KUMAR GHOSE

A meeting was held at Calcutta on 23rd March 1912, to express deep sense of sorrow at the death of Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose. Gokhale made the following speech on the occasion :

I first met Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose ten years ago, and the impression which he then made on me remains with me today. It is true that even before meeting him I had formed a very high idea of him, because I had heard a great deal about him from my master, the late Mr. Ranade[1] who always spoke of him in terms of great admiration and affection; but it was not till I actually met him that I realized what a wonderfully interesting and inspiring personality his was.

Combination of Deep Spirituality with Passionate Patriotism

What struck me most in him was the combination of deep spirituality with passionate patriotism, and this combination produced another combination of two seemingly contradictory qualities — deep peace and great restlessness of mind and energy. His patriotism made him a restless and incessant worker in the service of his country, and yet behind it all was deep peace, born of true spirituality. Often in the midst of a strenuous argument, when he was emphasizing his point of view with all the energy of his powerful mind, he would suddenly break into a gentle smile and change the subject with some affectionate enquiry of a personal nature, thus giving us a glimpse of the peace that lay underneath his restlessness, and showing that in the midst of the din and turmoil of practical life, he could, when he chose, withdraw himself into an inner sanctuary, there to be alone with his Maker. Such a man possessing the dynamic power which comes from the intensity of conviction and that quiet strength which springs from faith, was bound to attain greatness not only in India, but anywhere in the world, and it is no wonder that Shishir Babu exercised such vast influence on his times and surroundings in this country.

Gentlemen, it is not for me to dwell before a Calcutta audience on the great and lifelong services which he rendered to us. We lose in him a great spiritual teacher, a true and earnest patriot who loved his country as few love her, a vigorous thinker and a courageous and strenuous worker. I am sure that when the history of these times comes to be written Shishir Babu will occupy a foremost place among the makers of modern India. And now that this brave, earnest and simple soul has passed away from our midst, I think we owe it to ourselves that we should not allow his memory to fade from our minds. The lives of such men as Babu Shishir Kumar Ghose are a possession to the country, and they are a rich heritage for succeeding generations. I, there-

[1] See foot-note 5 on p. 22.

fore, trust that this gathering will take steps to perpetuate Shishir Babu's memory in a suitable manner, and, thereby show that we are not unmindful of the debt under which he has laid us by a life so nobly spent in the service of our motherland.

SISTER NIVEDITA[1]

A public meeting was held at Calcutta on 23rd March 1912, to commemorate the services rendered to India by the late Sister Nivedita. Gokhale made the following speech on the occasion :

I beg to support this resolution. It was my privilege to have known Sister Nivedita intimately for more than ten years and I am grateful to the organizers of this meeting for their kindness in inviting me to join in today's tribute to her memory. You, Sirs, in your unapproachable manner, have already voiced the feelings of us all as to the grievous loss the country has sustained by her sudden and untimely death and my friends, Babu Surendranath Bannerjee[2] and Mr. Blair, have borne eloquent testimony to her great worth in placing this resolution before the meeting. I do not think therefore that I need occupy your time or attention for more than a very few minutes.

Wonderfully Striking Personality

Sister Nivedita's personality was a wonderfully striking personality — so striking, indeed, that to meet her was like coming in contact with some great force of nature. Her marvellous intellect, her lyric powers of expression, her great industry, the intensity with which she held her beliefs and convictions, and last but not least that truly great gift — capacity to see the soul of things straightway — all these would have made her a most remarkable woman of any time and in any country. And when to these were joined — as were joined in her case — a love for India that overflowed all bounds, a passionate devotion to her interest and an utter self-surrender in her service and finally a severe austerity of life accepted not only uncomplainingly but gladly for her sake, is it any wonder that Sister Nivedita touched our imagination and captured our hearts or that she exercised a profound and far-reaching influence on the thoughts and ideas of those around her and that we acclaimed her as one of the greatest men and women that have lived and laboured for any land? Sister Nivedita came to us not to do good to us, as some people somewhat patronisingly put it; she came to us not even as a worker for humanity moved to pity by our difficulties, our shortcomings and our sufferings; she came to us because she felt the call of India. She came to us because she felt the fascination of India, she came to give to India the worship of her heart on one side and to take her place among Indian sons and daughters in the great work that lies before us all. And the beautiful completeness of her acceptance of

[1] SISTER NIVEDITA (originally MISS MARGARET NOBLE) (1867-1911); met Swami Vivekanand in England (1895); at his suggestion came to India to work for her uplift, and completely identified herself with Indian culture.

[2] See foot-note 2 on page 307.

India was indeed what no words can express — not merely her acceptance of the great things for which India has stood in the past or of those for which, God willing, she shall stand again in the future — but of India as she is today with all her faults and shortcomings, undeterred by the hardships or difficulties of our lives, unrepelled by our ignorance, superstition and even our squalor. How few there are among us who realize fully how hard, how difficult, how nearly impossible it must have been for her to live our life completely in this manner. Even those among us born of India and nurtured in her lap, if they happen to get out of the old life owing to foreign travel or other causes, find it by no means easy to go back fully to that life. What must have been then to her, born thousands of miles away and brought up amidst environments largely different from ours, to achieve their complete identification with us and live the life that she lived for us? I think, ladies and gentlemen, as we think of this, we see before our eyes a haunting image of the noblest that can be conceived, leading us and driving us to greater and better things.

This meeting has been called to raise a suitable memorial to Sister Nivedita. I hope and trust that the memorial will be a worthy one, worthy of this great city, worthy of the love which Sister Nivedita gave to us and of the love and respect which we all felt for her. But even a worthy memorial by itself will not suffice. I feel that our departed Sister, so dear to us, who lived and died for us, will have lived and died in vain if the flame of our patriotism did not burn purer and brighter on her account, if our conception of civic duty and social service did not stand higher and our lives did not grow fuller of earnest aspirations and noble endeavours in the service of our Motherland.

Ladies and gentlemen, I support this resolution.

SIR JAMES MESTON[1]

Gokhale delivered the following speech at the farewell dinner to the Hon'ble **Sir James** *Meston at Peliti's Restaurant in Calcutta on 23rd March* 1912 :

I rise now to propose the health of our honoured and distinguished guest, Sir James Meston. My friend on my right Dr. Rash Behari Ghose,[2] has just reminded me that postprandial speaking is a somewhat difficult art. I remember to have read somewhere that its soul has to be a delightful sense of humour, for an enlivening effect on the audience should be its special distinction. Very probably the sense of humour is stimulated to special activity by a hearty meal and somewhat free resort to the cup that more than cheers. If that be so, my qualifications for performing satisfactorily the duty which, by the kindness of my colleagues, has been entrusted to me are of the poorest. There is, however, one circumstance which makes my task, which otherwise would have been so difficult, a comparatively simple one. The enthusiasm with which you will receive this toast will be supplied by your own hearts and need not depend upon what I say or how I say it.

Remarkable Ability and Devotion to Duty

Gentlemen, every one of us in this room is not glad but proud to be here this evening to do honour to Sir James Meston. I think the present Viceroy has so far been most happy in his appointments but in no appointment that he has made has he been happier than in that of Sir James Meston to the Lieutenant-Governorship of the United Provinces. It is a striking circumstance and one that bears eloquent testimony to Sir James' great worth that his elevation to the high office has been received with deep and universal satisfaction by men of all classes and creeds and of different schools of thought. For once, at any rate, the lion and the lamb have lain together. Europeans and Indians, the *Pioneer* and the *Leader*, the *Bengalee* and the *Englishman* — all are united in acclaiming the appointment as the wisest and the best that could be made. The explanation of this singular phenomenon is not far to seek. There is in Sir James a combination of qualities which must strongly appeal to every one, whatever his race or creed, or the political complexion of his views. He is a man of great ability — one of the most brilliant members of the Indian Civil Service. His devotion to duty too is remarkable. For many years he has been one of the hardest worked officials in the country. Then there are his scrupulous conscientiousness and his high character. And, finally, every one recognizes in him the finest type of the English gentlemen. No wonder, therefore, that Sir James enjoys, in an unstinted measure, the esteem and confidence of all classes.

[1] See foot-note 8 on p. 111.

[2] See foot-note 8 on p. 233.

Wide Sympathies and Liberal Views

But the Indian communities see in him in addition an official of wide sympathies, of exceptionally broad and liberal views, one who not only understands but is friendly to their legitimate aspirations. Now, we, the non-official members of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, share these feelings for him with the rest of our countrymen. But in addition we have special reasons of our own to regard him with that great admiration and affection which we all entertain for him. Some of you may be aware that in 1908, Sir James acted for a few months as Finance Member of the Viceroy's Council, and in that capacity he had to take part in the deliberations which resulted in the formulation of the reform scheme of four years ago, and he was a signatory to the Government of India's final despatch on the subject. It is a significant illustration of the rapidity with which the personnel of the Government changes in this country that of all men who signed that despatch Sir James is the only one who is still in the country. I do not know if that circumstance has given him a special sense of a kind of parental responsibility for the reform scheme, but this we all know that he has believed whole-heartedly in the new Council and has done everything in his power to make it a success. He has been ever ready to help non official members with suggestion, with advice, even with guidance and there has never been anything forbidding about him. This was probably because he was always so sure of his facts, for it has often been our experience that the less an official knows, the more forbidding he tries to look. Often when he was immersed up to the very eyes in work, often when he was simply driven, many of us have had to go to him to consult him about our figures or ask him for information which we could not obtain from sources available to us, feeling almost guilty in our own minds that we were adding to his burdens at such a time. But his great courtesy and his smile of welcome never failed; never was there the least suggestion of impatience, of annoyance or complaint, and we were invariably enabled to come away with the impression that the only thought in his mind was not that of the trouble we were giving him, but of our trust in his friendly feeling which made us turn to him in our difficulties. And, gentlemen, I know I am expressing the feeling of all when I say that each one of us is indebted to Sir James for the valuable assistance repeatedly given, and that the work of several of us would have been very difficult, if not quite impossible, without his assistance. His warmest good wishes have been with us in our work in the Council, and we are glad to have this opportunity to tender him an expression of our sincerest gratitude. We view with unfeigned sorrow his departure from the Council, though we rejoice greatly that he has been promoted to a higher sphere where he will have ampler opportunities of public usefulness.

Young Lieutenant–Governor

Gentlemen, it has been said Sir James becomes a Lieutenant-Governor at a comparatively young age, for he is only 46. The other day while reading a

sketch of his life published in the *Hindustan Review* of our colleagues, Mr. Sinha,[1] I was amused to come across a story of Sir James' earliest official life in this country. In those days the age for Civil Service was lower than at present and in filing an appeal against a judgement of Sir James' in a criminal case, a mischievous lawyer — I fear the element is well represented at this table — put in the very forefront of his objection 'the learned magistrate is a minor.' Well, I think I may assure Sir James that if he makes a mistake in his capacity — and even he must make mistakes occasionally — the people of the United Provinces will not go up to the Government or the Secretary of State with the complaint — 'His Honour the new Lieutenant-Governor is under 50'. Nay, rather, I think, will they overlook the mistake or refer gently and tenderly to it as to a mistake made by a near friend. Gentlemen, it now remains for me only to wish Sir James Godspeed. We wish him all health and happiness, wherever he may be and in this we hope he will permit us to include Lady Meston. We are confident that during his term of five years the United Provinces will be an object of envy to the whole country, and we shall watch with utmost interest his career and his achievements. And our eyes will continue to rest on him, our hearts will be lifted up with prayers innumerable that he may be enabled to realize his best hopes and ours and that his administration should prove not only a success but a great and glorious success. Gentlemen, I give you the health of Sir James Meston.

[1] Mr. SATCHIDANAND SINHA, Bar-at-Law; editor *Bihar Times*; the *Kayastha Samachar*; and proprietor, *Hindustan Review*; started (1904) the weekly *Indian People*, later turned into the daily *Leader*, Allahabad; member, Imperial Legislative Council (1910-13).

PRESENTATION TO LADY WEDDERBURN

An " At Home " was specially arranged on July 4, 1912 *for presenting to Lady Wedderburn a beautiful necklace of Indian make, set in diamonds and pearls, with a pendant of enamelled lotus-leaves, surrounded by precious stones. Gokhale made the following speech on the occasion :*

Sir William's[1] official life had been spent in the Bombay Presidency, and, though his work after retirement was for all India, Bombay naturally took a special pride in it. When, therefore, it was definitely settled that he was coming out to India to preside over the Allahabad Congress, a committee of many prominent citizens was formed in Bombay to take steps to express our admiration and affection for him in a suitable manner; and the committee resolved that the expression should take the form of a farewell entertainment to be given in Bombay on the eve of Sir William's departure from India. Unfortunately, the strain of incessant work, which it was found impossible to avoid, told on Sir William's health, and on his going to Calcutta from Allahabad it was thought best that he should sail back to Europe from Calcutta direct, instead of returning to Bombay. The committee in Bombay, who had collected a sum of four thousand rupees for the entertainment, were naturally very much disappointed at this decision, but they had to acquiesce in it as there was no help. They then decided to devote the money to sending to Lady Wedderburn a souvenir of Sir William's matchless services to India, of his last visit undertaken at such risk, and of the anxious time through which Lady Wedderburn had to go on our account, as was clear not only from her letters, but from what we learnt from the nurse.

When Sir William came to know of this intention of the committee he wrote to Mr. Wacha,[2] one of the secretaries, begging him not to spend more than a very small amount on the souvenir, and urging that the bulk of the money should be made over to the fund which had been started in Bombay for the promotion of village sanitation as a memorial to Miss Florence Nightingale.[3]

[1] See foot-note on p. 184. [2] See foot-note 5 on p. 173.

[3] Miss FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE (1820-1910); reformer of hospital nursing; began hospital visiting (1844); Superintendent, Hospital for Invalid Gentlewomen, London (1853); served in the Crimean War (1854-56) as Superintendent of the Female Nurses in the Hospitals in the East; to mark public appreciation of her war services, a School and Home for Nurses named after her was established in London (1860). On the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny (1857), she offered to come to India at twenty-four hours' notice. The Indian Government submitted to her the report of the Royal Commission on the sanitary state of the Army in India (1863). Her comments are contained in a paper entitled " How people may live and not die in India "; urged initiation of sanitary reform. She wrote to the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha in 1889 : " There must be as it were missionaries and preachers of health and cleansing, if any real progress is to be made. "

The committee, while unwilling to be diverted from its purpose, could not disregard Sir William's wishes entirely. And so it was finally resolved to contribute one thousand rupees out of the money to the Miss Nightingale Fund and devote the rest of the amount to the souvenir which is a necklace of Indian design and Indian workmanship — the work having been executed at Bangalore — with the Indian lotus flower in the centre. As I was coming this summer to England, the committee very kindly desired me to act on its behalf and make the presentation. This is what the secretaries wrote to me before I left India:

> Dear Mr. Gokhale, as you are proceeding to Europe, and will be in London for some time, we have the pleasure to request you to be so good as to kindly agree to present to Lady Wedderburn, on behalf of the members of the Sir William Wedderburn Bombay Reception Committee, December, 1910, the necklace of brilliants which the Committee unanimously voted to be presented to her as a souvenir to Sir William's last visit to Bombay and as a sincere token of the very high esteem, admiration and affection in which Sir William is universally held in this City and Presidency and of the gratitude we all feel for the great and invaluable services he had rendered to India during a lifetime devoted entirely to her service.

In accordance with this wish of the Committee it is my privilege now to present this necklace to Lady Wedderburn. Long may she and Sir William be spared — objects of affection, gratitude and reverence to the countless millions of India.

Ladies and gentlemen, I stated at the outset of my remarks, that for certain special reasons, Congress leaders in India were anxious, in 1910, to get Sir William Wedderburn to preside over that year's Congress, and I think I should explain briefly what those reasons were. The year 1910 marked the definite closing of one chapter and the opening of another and a brighter one in the history of India. The far-reaching scheme of reforms, announced at the end of 1908, was brought into operation during 1909, and the first elections to the new Councils took place at the beginning of 1910. It was an important juncture, and the foremost need of the situation was that all classes of the community — officials and non-officials, Hindus and Mahomedans, and different sections of the Progressive party — should join in a common effort to make the new order of things a success. Old misunderstandings had to be put aside; old quarrels healed before the country could enter successfully on the new era which undoubtedly was in sight. For some time before the introduction of the reforms a steady alienation of feeling had gone on between the officials and the people in India — an alienation which culminated in the bitterness that characterized the opening years of the new century. The Hindus and Mahomedans, too, who have long lived amicably side by side in the country, had come to be divided widely by a sharp and somewhat sudden antagonism as regards the share which the Mahomedan community was to have in the new privileges. And, owing to the occurrences at the Surat Congress in 1907, a serious split

had taken place in the ranks of Congressmen in the country, bringing in its train those disastrous consequences which disunion never fails to produce.

Triple Conciliation

All these differences were bound to hamper the working of the reform scheme, and no task was therefore more vitally necessary in 1910 than that of earnestly addressing a plea of conciliation all round to the different interests or sections concerned. And Congress leaders felt that from their side, no one could urge such a plea with more authority or with greater effect than Sir William Wedderburn. It was, therefore, as a great conciliator that Sir William was invited that year to go out to India. And the address which he delivered from the chair of the Congress showed how fully he realized the requirements of the situation and how whole-heartedly he entered on this mission of conciliation. The keynote of the address was triple conciliation — conciliation between the officials and the people, between Hindus and Mahomedans, and between Congressmen and those who had seceded from the Congress. With the authority of an old official and of a devoted friend of Indian aspirations, he appealed to officials and non-officials to put aside, as far as possible, their old differences and enter on their new duties under the reform scheme in a spirit of mutual appreciation and co-operation. As one who had laboured for India as a whole, and never made any distinction between Hindus and Mahomedans, he appealed to the members of both the communities to think of their vast common interests and unite in the sacred service of their common Motherland. But as the recognized head of the Congress organization for a quarter of a century in England, he appealed to the seceders to return to the fold, appealing to Congressmen at the same time to make it as easy as possible for them to return, consistently with the fundamental position of the Congress. And in every quarter his words evoked a cordial and sympathetic response. Wherever he went the officials took occasion to mark the esteem in which they held him, and even His Excellency the Viceroy[1] gave expression to his satisfaction at the work which Sir William had done. The Anglo-Indian Press was full of generous appreciation. His Highness the Aga Khan,[2] with about fifty prominent members of the Muslim League, went specially from Nagpur, where the League was then holding its sittings, to Allahabad where the Congress was in session, to attend a special conference under Sir William's chairmanship to consider

[1] LORD HARDINGE, Viceroy and Governor-General of India (1910-16).

[2] Sir MOHAMMED SHAH SULTAN, AGA KHAN III (1877-1957); spiritual head of the Ismaili sect of the Muslim community; took a leading part in founding the Aligarh University; led (1906) a Muslim deputation to the then Viceroy, Lord Minto, which demanded separate electorates for Muslims; President, All-India Muslim League; member, Imperial Legislative Council; President, League of Nations Council; attended the Indian Round Table Conference in London (1930-32); represented India at the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva (Switz.) (1932); and at the League of Nations Assembly (1932) (1934-37); author of *India in Transition*.

Hindu-Mahomedan relations. And those who had seceded from the Congress approached him with letters and telegrams from all parts of India with suggestions as to how a re-union could be brought about between different sections of the Progressive Party, and made it abundantly clear that, whatever their differences with Congressmen in India, for Sir William Wedderburn they had but one feeling — that of intense affection, reverence, and gratitude. It was thus, first, to act as a conciliator all round, at a special juncture in our affairs, that we were anxious to have Sir William in India in 1910.

But we were also anxious to have him for another reason. The reforms of 1908, which, as I have already said, opened a new chapter in our history, though they will specially remain associated with the names of two English statesmen — Lord Morley and Lord Minto[1] — were really rendered possible by the long spade-work extending over a quarter of a century done by the Congress both in India and in England. And the work in England, which in some respects was even more important than the work in India, was in reality the work of two high-souled and devoted Englishmen — Mr. Hume,[2] now alas! lying in a critical state of health, and Sir William Wedderburn. Other friends of India had, no doubt, contributed to this work from time to time in a lesser degree, but the brunt of it was borne by these two; and it was the barest truth to say that, but for Sir William's single-minded devotion, his dogged perseverance, his singular tact, and infinite patience, it could not have been kept going for so many years, neither could it have been so fruitful.

India — His Sole and Single Interest

After a quarter of a century's official connexion with India, Sir William took up this voluntary work for us, and it is interesting to note that he has now completed another quarter of a century in India's service. Those who know him well need not be told that only a supreme sense of what was necessary in the interests of both England and India impelled him to undertake this work. By nature he is a typical English country gentleman. He loves a quiet life, he is devoted to gardening, and he is fond of travel. And he might well have indulged these tastes after his retirement from the Indian Civil Service, and might have, in addition, enjoyed the dignity of a seat in Parliament — he was for some years in the House, and he might have continued indefinitely — in comparative ease. But he felt that India needed him, and he decided to place his time, his energies, his resources unreservedly at her disposal. Ladies and gentlemen, there have been great Englishmen in the past in this country who from time to time have raised their powerful voice on behalf of India. From Edmund Burke to Charles Bradlaugh[3] a succession of great men have championed the cause of India in Parliament. And India will always cherish their names with

[1] See foot-note on p. 310.
[2] See foot-note on p. 306.
[3] See foot-note on p. 271.

gratitude and admiration. But India to them was not their sole or even their main interest in life. It was their strong sense of justice that led them from time to time to enter a passionate plea for justice to India. In Sir William's case, however, India has been his sole and single interest. And the way in which he has laboured for her now for twenty-five years has really no parallel in Anglo-Indian history. It is, I think, comparatively easy to work for India in this country now, but it was not always so. As a prominent Englishman said to me the other day, it is not difficult to work for a cause with public enthusiasm on your side. It is not even difficult to work for it against opposition. But the most difficult thing is to work for it amidst apathy, ignorance, and ridicule; and most of Sir William's work had to be done under such conditions. An Englishman, who will soon be going out to India in a high capacity, told me only yesterday how his heart used to go out to Sir William when sitting by his side in the House, he watched his sensitive spirit — and Sir William by nature is very sensitive — suffer under constant rebuffs encountered in the service of India. Was it any wonder, then, that when the new order was inaugurated, and a brighter day had arrived, we in India should be anxious that one who had laboured for us so strenuously and borne for us so much should come out to witness with his eyes the fruit of his patient and devoted labours?

Reforms a Long Way from Self-Government

It is true that the Reform scheme does not carry us far — that we are still a long way from the enjoyment of any real self-government. But it constitutes a valuable step in advance. Its most important feature is the power conferred on members of Legislative Councils to raise debates on administrative matters. By a wise and persistent use of this power we shall be able gradually to substitute an administration conducted in the light of public criticism responsibly tendered by public men face to face with officials for an administration conducted by officials with good intentions, no doubt, but conducted in the dark and behind the backs of the people. And this, to my mind, is a great step in advance. I think a machinery has now been created in India whereby all our minor grievances can be brought effectively to the notice of the Government without troubling Parliament or the people of this country. For large questions of policy or principle our appeal will have still to be here; but the labours of Sir William Wedderburn and those associated with him have resulted in placing in our hands an instrument of progress which will meet all our minor requirements, and will further enable us to exercise no small influence in moulding our own future.

We, therefore, rejoiced when Sir William definitely accepted our invitation. We rejoiced when he arrived in India and we rejoiced even more when he was able to leave the country after completing his labour of love, undertaken at his great age, and in his unsatisfactory state of health, without a serious breakdown. And now, ladies and gentlemen, nothing remains for me but to tender

once again our heartiest thanks to Sir Charles[1] and Lady Schwann for the great trouble which they have so readily taken in arranging this function and to you all for your kind presence here this afternoon.

[1] Sir CHARLES ERNEST SCHWANN, BART., P. C.; Secretary, treasurer and president, Manchester Liberal Association; President, Reform Club; President for nine years of National Reform Union; carried Bill for granting votes to Policemen in Municipal and School Board elections.

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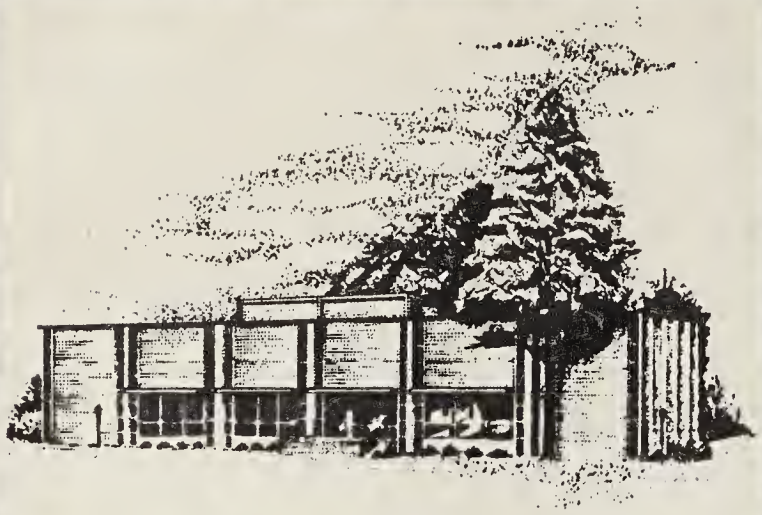
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